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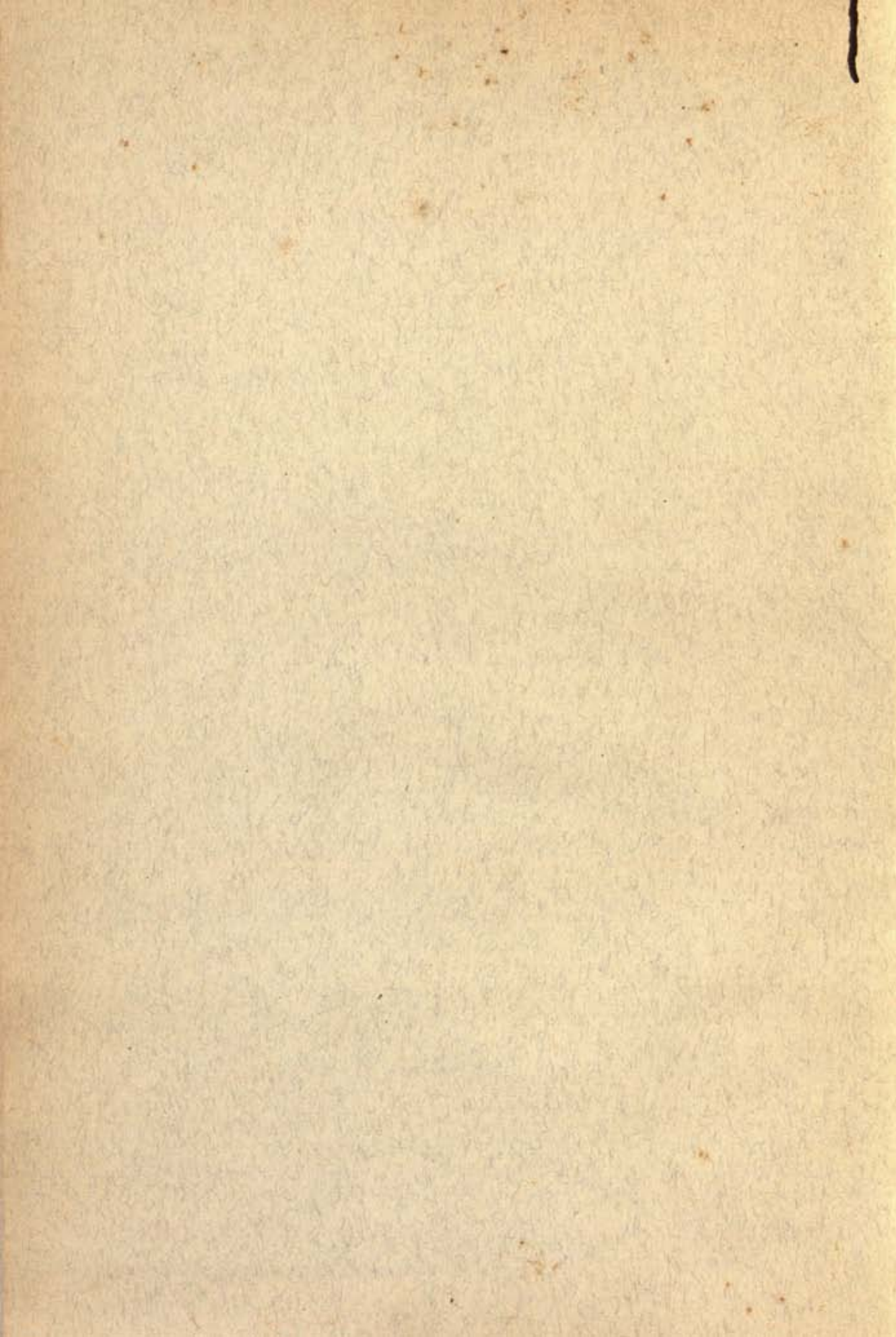
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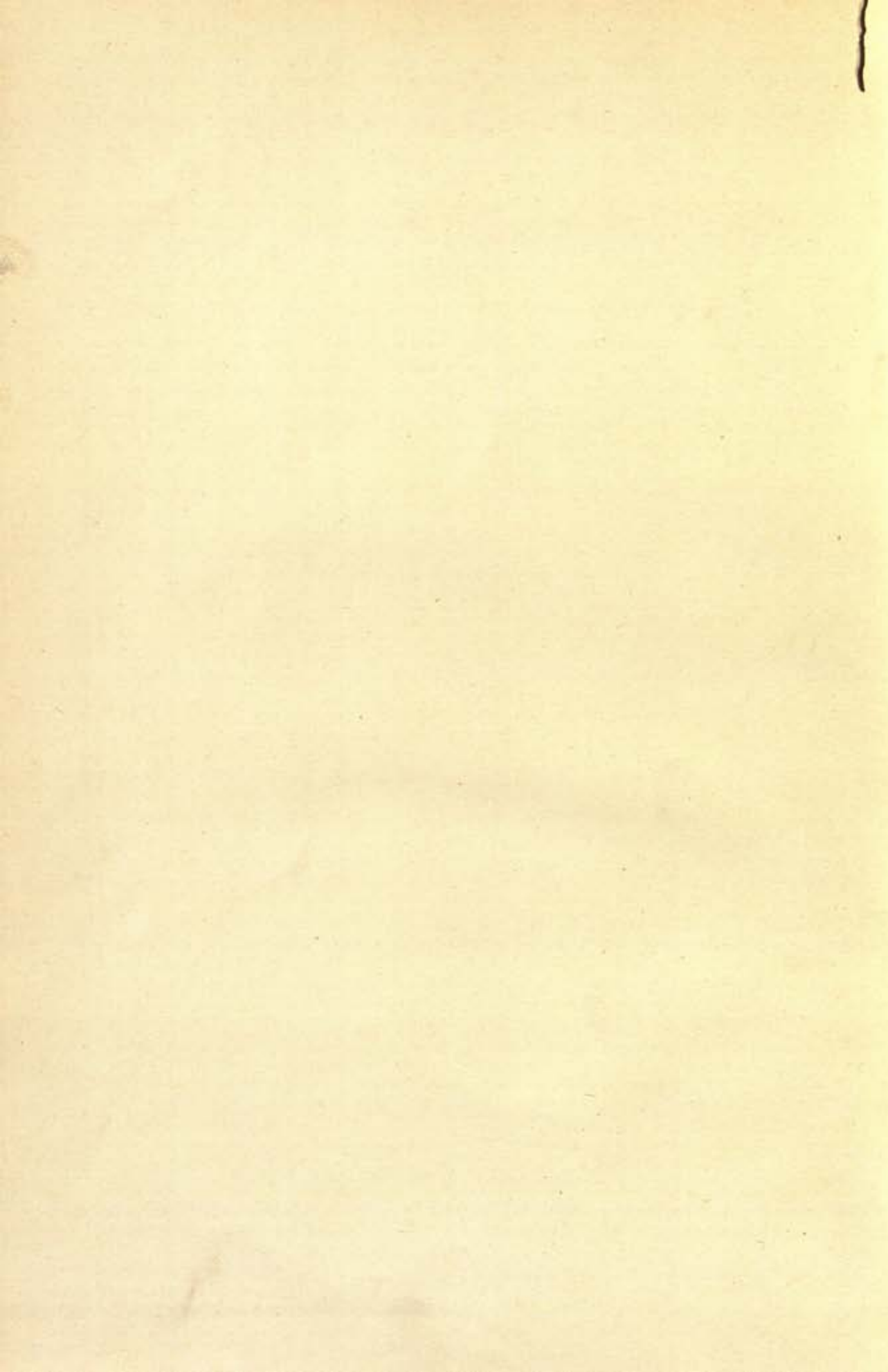
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## THE PATTERN OF THE ODYSSEY

A GENERATION ago (1922) in *The Pattern of the 'Iliad'*, Dr. J. T. Sheppard proposed a fresh analysis of the contents of the poem, as a sequence of problems, rather moral than political, resulting from the *Quarrel* between Agamemnon and Achilles, (1) from the seizure of Briseis to the failure of the Embassy; (2) from Achilles' consent to the intervention of Patroclus, leading to the death of Patroclus and the loss of the divine armour; (3) from the vengeance of Achilles, the death of Hector, and eventually the demand for the surrender of his body to Priam. These major problems are separated by loosely connected episodes, the killing of Dolon and Rhesus, and the making of new armour for Achilles. Within them the course of events is presented in a series of connected episodes, the more important of which are supplemented by the lesser incidents, preceding and following in order of narration, as the side panels of a triptych or side groups of a pediment supplement and enhance the centrepiece.

Following these clues, I attempted a further analysis of the *Iliad* (*JHS* LII, 265-96) and proposed some comparisons between its rhythms and those of Greek 'geometrical' art.

This feature of epic composition was appreciated in antiquity; Aristotle lays stress on it<sup>1</sup>; the structure of Attic tragedies, and of great works of material art—the 'Chest of Kypselos' and the pediments of Aegina, Olympia, and the Parthenon, is founded on it; and it seems to be the clue to the originality and effectiveness of the prose composition of Herodotus.

It is obviously of interest to discover whether a similar principle and method of composition is to be found in the *Odyssey*. Here the texture is closer, the workmanship more delicate, and the materials more varied and independent. But enough can be established, even in a brief survey, to show that the structure and composition are essentially the same as in the *Iliad*.

The *Odyssey* combines independent *Nostoi*, or 'tales of return' from the Trojan War: the story of Telemachus, in search of his father, enframes the 'returns' of Nestor, Agamemnon, and Menelaus, with allusions to the destruction of Ajax and other heroes, and Odysseus poses, on every occasion, as a forwandered warrior. It depicts a world of disorder and wanderings, and in particular the intolerable anarchy in Ithaca, which drives Telemachus abroad in search of assurance that his father is still alive. It begins, and ends, in Olympus, where the detention of Odysseus by Calypso is known, and ended, in the absence of his persecutor, Poseidon. It introduces Athena as the protector of Odysseus, his wife, and his son; and develops the character of Penelope and of Telemachus, in preparation for their parts in the central *Nostos*, the return of Odysseus himself. Preceding and following the 'Journey of Telemachus' are scenes in the disordered palace in Ithaca; the earlier, much longer than the later, describes the political background of that disorder, and has its justification and counterpart in the Epilogue (XXIV) where justice is eventually completed, and peace restored, again by Athena's intervention.

The structure of this composition, then, is as on pp. 13 ff.

### THE PROLOGUE, I-V

Zeus opens with a general complaint that men blame the gods for misfortunes brought on themselves: for example, Aegisthus was warned not to kill Agamemnon. The fate of Agamemnon, and by implication of Clytaemnestra, is a recurring foil to the fortunes of Odysseus and Penelope. Athene pleads for Odysseus, Zeus promises his eventual return—the subject of the whole poem—and Athena has Hermes sent to warn Calypso: he does not, however, leave Olympus till V. 43 in the pendant Olympian epilogue. Here is a well-defined triplet—Ath-Z-Ath—with the promise of Zeus central: it is balanced in the Epilogue, V. 7-42 by a similar triplet—Ath-Z-Z to Hermes, with the 'Counsel of Zeus' again central, a safe return for Telemachus, anticipating XV. 1-493.

*The New Regime in Ithaca* is presented in four compositions: in the first and fourth, Athena, first as Mentos, then as Mentor, prepares Telemachus for his journey to Pylos and Sparta.

<sup>1</sup> *Poetics* 1459a 20. Chest of Kypselos, *JHS* LXVI, 122; Myres, *Herodotus, The Father of History* (in the press).



In the second (I. 324-444) Telemachus shows his new purpose to the suitors—a quintet, with Antinous contrasted with Eurymachus, and both enframed by three speeches from Telemachus, of which the second (central, 359-98) is crucial. This episode is preceded by Telemachus' new treatment of Penelope (couplet 357-59) and followed by his orders to Eurycleia (425-9): no speeches, but his confidence in her is direct counterpart of his reticence towards his mother; note that Eurycleia is introduced again in II. 345-7.

In the third (II. 1-255), the public meeting is opened by Aegyptius (25-34) and Telemachus (40-79) and closed by Mentor (229-31) and Leocritus (appeal to force: 243-55), the latter only reappears to be killed (XXII. 294-6): Antinous (85-128) and Eurymachus (178-207) are counterparts as before, but the centrepiece is the omen (146) interpreted by Halitherses (161-76): Odysseus is not far off, and will take his revenge: this refers back to the warning given to Aegisthus (I. 35-43): the Suitors are to have no excuse.

In the fourth episode, a brief conversation (Tel-Eurycleia-Tel, 345-76) is balanced by another ([Tel]-Mentor-Tel: 382-412) in which Athena, personating Telemachus (382-7), has no speech, but  $\phi\alpha\tau\omicron\ \mu\upsilon\theta\omicron\nu$  (383):  $\eta\tau\epsilon\epsilon\ \nu\eta\alpha\ \theta\omicron\sigma\eta\nu$  (387). There are also unspoken words from Eurycleia (her oath 377) and from Noemon ( $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\delta\epsilon\kappa\tau\omicron$  387), so this whole episode is in outline only—Ath. Ath. Noemon Mentor Tel.

*The Visit to Pylos* is a single composition, centred on Nestor's five speeches, and culminating in his news of Odysseus (224); Telemachus' reply to this (226-8) is reinforced by Mentor's correction (230) which he accepts: he is still learning how to behave. The *nostos* of Nestor himself (103-200) is balanced by those of Agamemnon and Menelaus (254-312). Nestor's eventual advice (317-28) accepted by Mentor (371-6) is the counterpart of his welcome to Telemachus (69-74, 79-101).

All this is enframed between a prologue and an epilogue. The prologue has five speeches, Mentor-Telemachus-Mentor-Peistratus-Mentor: central is Mentor's encouragement (25-7). But note that if we count Telemachus' silent  $\eta\rho\alpha\tau\omicron$  (64), there are two balanced triplets. For such 'silent' speeches, see below, p. 10. The epilogue also has five speeches, a triplet—Nestor-Mentor-Nestor (346-84); Nestor's speech the next day (418-29); and his farewell (475-6). At the sacrifice,  $\epsilon\delta\zeta\alpha\nu\tau\omicron$  (447) is unspoken prayer, like 64. The two ritual acts are counterparts, opening and closing the visit.

*The Visit to Sparta* (IV. 1-601) has a prologue triplet—Eteoneus-Menelaus-Menelaus (20-64) followed by a meal. There is no epilogue in XV outside the main structure, which completes the episode by an elaborate third composition (XV. 1-164), balancing the first (IV. 65-295), which is introductory to the second and central one (IV. 312-610). All three compositions consist of centrepiece and 'side-panels'—to borrow a phrase from archaic painting. In the first, the centrepiece 147-202 is between Menelaus and Peisistratus (M-P-M-P-M) only reaching the main issue in Menelaus' invitation to Odysseus to settle at Sparta (169-82). Before and after this are triplets: Telemachus-Menelaus-Helen (71-146) and Helen-Menelaus-Telemachus (255-291-5). The latter follows a meal, which, however, stands before the closing triplet, not after it, as strict balance with 65-8 would require: for Helen's potion, like some modern doses, was to be taken 'after food'; and in 291-5 Telemachus is ready for bed.

Next day, the third composition, of five speeches (M-T-M-T-M, IV. 312-610) centres on Menelaus' tale of Proteus, between Telemachus' account of the suitors (315-31) and his proposal to return home (594-608). This being agreed (611-19) the actual departure is postponed to XV, thus linking the two halves of the *Odyssey* together.

*Contemporary events in Ithaca* (IV. 623-847) are the counterpart and continuation of I. 106-II. 434, but differently constructed. Two stories are being told in alternate sections; (a) the plot of the Suitors (632-56 triplet: Antinous asks for a ship; 770-7 he prepares it, with grim comment from a suitor  $\tau\iota\varsigma$ , 770-1, balanced only by the embarkation; 842-7 the Suitors sail to Asteris, silently,  $\epsilon\nu\ \phi\rho\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu\ \delta\rho\mu\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\nu\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ ) as the occasion required. (b) The distress and consolation of Penelope make two balanced episodes. In 681-741 a triplet, P-Medon-P (681-710) announces Telemachus' departure; another P-Eurycleia-P (722-66) puts trust in Athena: between them, central, Medon has already hinted at divine help (712-5). In 804-37 five speeches—Athena-P-Athena-P-Athena—promise this: the third is central and crucial (825-9).



VI. *The Epilogue in Olympus* contains (1) the counterpart of the Prologue (I. 1-95), the triplet (V. 1-54) in which Athena persuades Zeus to send Hermes to release Odysseus from Calypso. But it forms also (2) the prologue to a double composition, to which Odysseus' triplet (V. 408-93) is epilogue. (3) The story of Calypso is the more elaborate. It is essentially in three triplets, of which the second is central, culminating in Odysseus' demand for an oath from Calypso (173-9). It is preceded by Hermes' message to Ogygia (55-144) and followed by Odysseus' confession (215-24) that he prefers Penelope to Calypso. There are two small anomalies; Calypso's farewell is silent after that confession; but later she gives him sailing-directions (ἄνωγε 276) again without a formal speech. And Hermes' parting threat to Calypso (146-7) is uncompensated. Like her final silence, it stresses Calypso's passion for Odysseus. (4) The other episode (283-379) is simpler. Within five speeches—Poseidon—Odysseus—Leucothea—Odysseus—Poseidon—that of Leucothea is central (339-50), like the prayer of Odysseus in the epilogue (445-50): these two speeches, indeed, make the rest of the story possible. Poseidon has done his worst, and only reappears (XIII. 128-64) to be told so by Zeus.

It must further be noted that the story of Calypso though so closely linked here with the Olympian Epilogue (V. 1-54) is at the same time the last outland adventure of Odysseus, the sequel to the Sun's Cattle (XII. 222-373), and (as narrated) leads direct to the wrath of Poseidon (V. 202-382) whereby Odysseus is driven to Phaeacia. It will be seen later (p. 4) that the story of the Sun's Cattle has no counterpart in the structure of the Wanderings (VI-XII), but receives this if the story of Calypso and Poseidon's wrath are regarded as prologue, though separated by the whole Phaeacian visit. For convenience, however, they are discussed here as they stand in the text.

#### PHAEACIA AND THE WANDERINGS, VI-XIII. 197

This major component of the *Odyssey* consists of two narratives: Odysseus' visit to Phaeacia (V-VIII) and his own account of his Wanderings (IX-XII) included in it just before his departure. These narratives are quite distinct, though they are re-connected by Arete's intervention in the Cimmerian story (XI. 352-84) and by the scene of departure from Phaeacia (XIII. 1-69).

*The Visit to Phaeacia* (VI-VIII) has three scenes: the meeting with Nausicaa, the arrival in the Palace, the Games, Dances, and Presents. What is central is Alcinous' promise of escort (VII. 192-206 confirmed 317-28) enframing Odysseus' story and request (208-25; 241-97) in reply to Arete's question (237-9), though he does not give his name till IX. 19.

*Nausicaa's story* is preceded by a prologue triplet (Athena-N-Alcinous, 25-70) with Odysseus' waking cry (119-26), and is followed by his prayer (324-7) with a similar triplet (Od-Ath-Ath, VII. 22-77). Her meeting with Odysseus has six speeches (Od-N-N-Od-N-N): Odysseus' second speech (218-22) and his transformation (229-31) are central, between her two orders to the maids. As Odysseus' prayer (324-7) is the counterpart of 119-26, there is a lacuna (for Odysseus) after 315. Now Nausicaa's long speech (255-315) includes an anonymous commentary (276-84): does this perhaps survive from another version of her return, in which such comment was incurred? Without it, Nausicaa's speech is continuous from 275 to 289.

*In the Palace* (VII. 81-347) Odysseus' opening request for escort (VII. 146-52) is balanced by his acceptance (331-3). Between these speeches are three triplets, Echeneus-Alcinous-Alcinous (159-206); Odysseus-Arete-Odysseus (208-97); Alc-Od-Alc (299-328). Arete's promise of help is central (237-9) and is supported before and after by Alcinous (186-206, 307-28). The words of the maids at bed-time (331-3) are epilogue, outside this composition.

*Games, Dances, and Presents* (VIII. 1-585) fill a single long and elaborate composition, punctuated by the three lays of Demodocus (62-82; 266-366; 499-520). Of these the second, about Ares and Aphrodite, has clear structure: the centrepiece (Apollo and Hermes, 337-42) pointing the ribald moral, between the snare (triplet, Ares-Hephaestus-ἥϊς: 292-332) and the amends (triplet, Poseidon-Hephaestus-Poseidon, 347-56): in both Hephaestus is central. The other two lays are narrative, and also interrupted.

After formal prologue (Athena (*keryx*)-Alcinous, 11-45) and Demodocus' first lay I



(62-82), Alcinous announces games (97-113) and singing (236-55) followed by Demodocus II. Only the games are in full, with eight speeches. The first triplet of invitation, Laodamas-Euryalus-Laodamas (133-51) leads to Odysseus' excuse (153-7); Laodamas' retort (159-64) leads to the second triplet, Od-Athena-Od (166-202) in which Odysseus proves his skill. This construction is unusual, but takes account of the balanced pairs of speeches, L-E-L: O-A-O, and the counter-changed centre, O-E.

After Demodocus II Alcinous ἐκέλευε (270) dancing, not described, but applauded by Odysseus (382-5): this balances the undescribed singing after 236-55; for the lays of Demodocus are official, not competitive. Then Alcinous calls for presents (381-97), Euryalus offers his gift (401-5; 408-11), and Odysseus accepts it (413-15). In this 'triplet' the two speeches of Euryalus seem to count as one. This incident balances the discourtesy of Euryalus (VII. 159-64).

Alcinous then repeats his call for gifts (424-32); Arete and Nausicaa respond (443-5, 461-2) and Odysseus gives thanks (464-8) and gives his own present (477-81; 487-98); his thanks are central, and the composition is concluded (after Demodocus' lay III) when Alcinous asks Odysseus for his story (576-86). His allusion to Poseidon (564-71) refers back to V. 252-382 and forward to XIII. 159-86, just outside the boundaries of this section of the poem.

#### THE WANDERINGS OF ODYSSEUS, IX, X, XI, XII

After this Phaeacian prelude, Odysseus' story forms a separate and differently constructed composition, IX-XII. The minor adventures are grouped before, between, and after those with the Cyclops and with Circe. Central is Odysseus' first loss of a chance to return home, by forfeiting further help from Aeolus: the whole series of adventures is ended by his second offence, against the Sun's Cattle (XII. 262-373), which sends him to Calypso (XII. 448); as it had been preceded by the shipwreck which had brought him to Phaeacia (V. 252-382), his third encounter with the gods, though it had been narrated before the other two, with the visit to Calypso which was the penalty.

As the visits to Circe are already enframed by the minor adventures with the Sirens (XII. 165-200) and with Scylla and Charybdis (XII. 201-61) the episode of the Sun's Cattle (XII. 260-453) is supernumerary. It is balanced, however, by the visit to Calypso, and its penalty by the wrath of Poseidon in V. 282-352, which also fall outside the main composition, and have been considered above in connexion with the Olympian epilogue to Books I-V. Of the long years of banishment in Calypso's island, there was nothing to be said. We are prepared for them already, by the eight years of Menelaus and Helen in Egypt (IV. 81), and by the growth to manhood of Telemachus, and of Orestes (I. 30, 40-1), as well as by the poet's own announcement (I. 16).

The sojourn with Circe is interrupted—and its symmetry with the Cyclops-story—by the visit to Cimmeria and Hades; and this in turn by the break in the recital in Phaeacia (XI. 330-76), by which the whole of this long narrative is brought back into connexion with its content—not at the centre point of the whole, but of the most far-fetched episode of it. This incident has a normal five-speech structure—Arete-Echeneus-Alcinous-Odysseus-Alcinous—central is Alcinous' request for more stories (XI. 345-53).

*The Raid on the Cicones* (IX. 39-61) has no speeches, but a triplet of significant words: ἠνώγεα . . . οὐκ ἐπίθοντο 44. γεγώνευν 47. *The Lotophagi* (IX. 53-104) offer only προσιέναι 88: κλαίοντες 98.

*The Story of the Cyclops*, by contrast, has elaborately grouped speeches, and in the first scene the isolated speech of Odysseus (IX. 172-6) is balanced by λίσσοντο 224 and οὐ πιθόμην 228, the vestiges of a triplet. Most of the speeches are in regular triplets: Od-Cy-Od (259-56; 344): his preparation of the beam, in the same context, is silent; so too are the blinding (371) and the escape (420). In each triplet the middle speech is crucial. The final prayer of the Cyclops (528-35) stands alone, like the opening announcement of Odysseus (172-6). Central and crucial are Odysseus' false name (364-7) and the Cyclops' use of it (408) between which comes the blinding (375-97) and the Cyclops' cries—ῥῖμωξεν (395), ἤπυεν (399)—which are central but inarticulate.



In the first visit to *Aeolus* there are no speeches, but the words ἐξερέεινεν (X. 13); κατέλεξα (16); οὐδὲ . . . ἀνήγατο (18) represent a normal triplet, with Odysseus' request central. The protest of the crew (38-48) is an isolated centrepiece; and the speeches at the second visit are a normal triplet (64-75).

The *Laestrygonian episode* has no speeches, but five are indicated—προσεφώνεον (109); ἐπέφραδεν (111); ἐκάλει (central) (114); τεύχε βοήν (118); ἐκέλευσα (128).

In *Aeaea* (excluding the Cimmerian episode) there are five compositions. In the first (X. 133-306), the triplets Od-Od-Polites (174-228) Eurylochus-Eur-Od (251-73) stand before and after Circe's magic, which is all the more impressive because speechless. In the second (X. 307-405) the triplets Hermes-Odysseus-Circe (281-335); Circe-Odysseus-Circe (378-405) support the centrepiece (337-47), where Odysseus forces Circe to swear not to harm him: her oath is silent ὁμοσεν (346) and her hospitality confirms it (348-74). In the third (X. 406-60), the reluctance of Eurylochus (432-7) is central in a composition of five speeches, which completes the establishment of Odysseus and his men in Circe's halls. Preparations for departure begin in the fourth episode (X. 461-577); two triplets: Shipmates-Odysseus-Circe (472-95); Circe-Odysseus-Odysseus (504-65) support the central words of Odysseus (501-2) demanding guidance towards Cimmeria. The request of the shipmates (472-4) is answered by Odysseus (562-5). The death of Elpenor is silent, and uncompensated; it serves to link this episode with his appearance in Hades (XI. 51-80) and the fifth episode (XII. 8-15) where Elpenor is buried, also silently. To a Greek audience, his unburied corpse was a pledge of Odysseus' return. The fifth episode (XII. 1-150) contains four speeches (21-141) and a double signal completing a quintet (ἐξερέεινεν· κατέλεξα 34-5) for Odysseus' story of his Cimmerian journey; superfluous here, because already told in XI. Central is Circe's prophecy of further adventures (XII. 37-110).

The *Sirens* (XII. 151-221) are described in a triplet (Od-Sirens-Od: 154-221) in which their song is central.

*Scylla and Charybdis* (XII. 222), already foretold twice, require no speeches; φθέγγοντο (240) and κελήγοντες (256) are inarticulate.

The *Sun's Cattle* has two complete triplets, and a third is completed by Lampetië's message (ἄγγελος ἦλθε 374). Central in the middle triplet is the revolt of Eurylochus (340-51): he is also central in the first. Note that the first and third triplets are supplemented by signals, ἀπώμνυον (303): νείκεον (392): the latter speech is precluded by the grim remark that 'the cattle were dead'.

The *Visit to Cimmeria* (XI) is a separate and elaborate composition, not quite symmetrical. The other heroines and heroes, silently paraded—except Heracles (615-26)—and separated by the Phaeacian interlude (333-76) are preceded—the heroines by Elpenor, Teiresias, and Anticleia, and the heroes by Agamemnon, Achilles, and the silent Aias. The opening triplets—Od-Elpenor-Od: Teiresias-Od-Teiresias are separated (84-9) by Anticleia, but she is not allowed to speak till the sequence of five speeches (Ant-Od-Ant-Od-Ant: 155-214), in which her news of Ithaca (180-203) is central. It thus balances the first two; and is exactly compensated by the five speeches of Odysseus and Agamemnon (376-465) culminating in Odysseus' comparison of Clytaemnestra with Penelope (436-9), another reference (like 180-203) to Ithaca. The interview with Achilles (466-537) is interrupted after Odysseus' news of Neoptolemus (504-37) by the apparition of Aias (541-67); Odysseus' words (553-62) show that a dialogue was intended, but dramatically suppressed (565). Central among the older heroes, Heracles alone, being immortal, has a ghost that can speak (617-26), but this closing group is cut short (630-33), as though the *Visit to Cimmeria* was exceeding some limit within the general design. It is already a very long story (635 lines overall).

#### THE RETURN OF ODYSSEUS TO ITHACA, AND REVELATION TO TELEMACHUS, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI

The latter half of the *Odyssey*, dealing with events in Ithaca after Odysseus' return, is not one major composition but two. Only the latter is concerned with affairs in the Palace, with Penelope and the Suitors. The former has its scene mainly at the house of Eumaeus, and is concerned with the revelation of Odysseus, not to Eumaeus as yet, but to Telemachus (XVI.



161-89). Continuity between these two compositions is maintained by the abiding supervision of Athena. Poseidon's wrath is satisfied by his punishment of the Phaeacians, and he disappears from the story after XIII. 186; intruding thus into the second half of the *Odyssey* as we have it, only to bind the two halves together.

The traditional division into books thus cuts across the main structure of the story; and this fact becomes more significant with the present analysis of that structure. This kind of discrepancy is rare, but has been noted already at the end of Book V, where the Olympian Epilogue (V. 1-54) is counterpart to the Olympian Prologue (I. 1-105); the story of Calypso in Ogygia (V. 55-282) is an episode of the Wanderings, and the sequel to the *Sun's Cattle* (XII. 262-447) which is otherwise without counterpart; and the encounter of Odysseus with Poseidon off Phaeacia (V. 283-493) is formal Prologue to the whole Phaeacian Visit (VI-XII, including the Wanderings), to which, at long last, the counterpart epilogue is here (XIII. 125-86), in the departure from Phaeacia, the last intervention of Poseidon and the appeasement of his wrath.

The two parts of this latter half of the *Odyssey* are further bound together by the long converse of Odysseus with Athena (XIII. 96-440) in which his home-coming and vengeance are devised. The recurrent *motif* of successive recognitions by his helpers begins in this overture, with Odysseus' own recognition of Ithaca, as the home-land, of which he is to recover dominion. Only with this recognition assured by Athena (XIII. 345-51), can he take the next step, his own recognition of Eumaeus (XIV)—who does not recognise him till XXI. 188—and the mutual recognition with Telemachus (XVI. 192-320). It is important to appreciate this overture-quality of XIII-XIV, as it is essential to the analysis of XVI.

The structure of XIII after Odysseus' waking words (200-16) is in pendant schemes of five speeches each (Od-Ath (disguised)-Od-Ath (revealed)-Od: 228-328: Ath-Od-Ath-Od-Ath: 375-430). Central in the first is Odysseus' feigned story (256-86); in the second, Athena's intention to disguise him from Eumaeus, who is thus brought into the story (404). Between these the triplet: Ath-Od-Ath (330-65) culminates in Odysseus' prayer (356-60) on recognising Ithaca, to its nymphs, in whose care he now leaves his treasures (366-71).

*The Welcome of Eumaeus* (XIV) consists of a centrepiece (85-408) between prologue (triplet 37-70) and epilogue (414-517) enlarged to five speeches by the story of the cloak (462-517) appended to Eumaeus' welcome (443-5) which has thus become central instead of final. The centrepiece is a triptych of three triplets (85-147: 149-339: 361-408) in each of which Odysseus offers news; twice in the central triplet Eumaeus describes in succession the anxieties of Penelope (122-30), of Telemachus (166-90), and of Penelope again (320). The central reference to Telemachus points forward to the story of his return (XV), and his enquiry (185), who Odysseus is? reminds the audience that Telemachus is on the wrong trail. This composition, and the briefer counterpart (XV. 301-495) which follows the *Return of Telemachus* and forms the first episode of the *Recognition* story (XV-XVI), develops the circumstances and character of Eumaeus, and encloses two sidelights on that of Odysseus before his travels (XIV. 192-358: 458-517). That Eumaeus, like Eurycleia (I. 430-5), a relic of the 'good old days', needs this elaborate characterisation, suggests that neither of them was 'in the story': both are Homeric creations. Theoclymenus is another.

*The Return of Telemachus* (XV), like his outward journey, is in two sections, Sparta and Pylos, in reverse order to the outward journey (III-IV) and much shorter. At Sparta, Menelaus' blessing and gifts are central (111-19) between the triplets, Tel-Men-Tel (desire to return: 64-91): Helen-Men-Tel (gifts and farewell, 125-59). Before this, Athena directs Telemachus, and he Peisistratus, to return (10-55); after it, the omen is observed by Peisistratus (167-8) interpreted by Helen (172-8) and accepted by Telemachus (180-1); the whole episode is thus enframed in divine sanctions. At Pylos, one triplet, Tel-Peis-Tel (195-219) suffices; for the occasion is taken to introduce Theoclymenus, another 'Homeric creation', who is to reappear (XV. 496-556; XVII. 152-61; XX. 351-63). There are four speeches (260-81), and as Telemachus' reception of him is crucial (266-78) it looks as if the long silent history of him (223-55) stands for an introductory speech. But note that Telemachus had already prayed for fair journey (εὐχeto 222). This incident connects the *Return Journey* with the next composition (XV. 496-556).

*The Recognition by Telemachus* (XV. 501-XVI. 481) is one elaborate composition. The



centrepiece, the transformation of Odysseus (XVI. 161-89), is preceded and followed by no less than four pairs of side-scenes. First and last, enframing the whole, are (*a*) the further talk of Odysseus with Eumaeus (XV. 301-495)—seven speeches, eliciting the imminent arrival of Telemachus (325-39), news of Laertes and Penelope (352-79) and (*a'*) Eumaeus' own history (390-484); and the return of Eumaeus from the Palace (XVI. 452-81) to report the suitors' plot to Telemachus and the re-disguised Odysseus. Within these stand (*b*) the arrival of Telemachus and Theoclymenus in Ithaca (seven speeches, 505-34): central is Theoclymenus' interpretation of an omen (525-34); and (*b'*) affairs in the Palace (XVI. 321-451): seven speeches, 357-447, of which the plot of Antinous is central (364-92): between the two warnings of Amphinomus (355-7: 400-5): before and after stands Eurymachus (341-50: 435-47) with the Herald's message to Penelope (337) and her reaction to it (417-33): note, however, that Eumaeus εἶπε (338) to supplant the Herald's news. Next towards the centre stand (*c*) the arrival of Telemachus; five speeches: Od-Eum-Telemachus-Eum-Tel (XVI. 8-45): Telemachus' request for news of Ithaca is central; Odysseus is barely noticed (44-5); and (*c'*) the triplet in which Telemachus and Odysseus make their plan (263-320). Then next to the centrepiece (*d*)—though the two triplets Tel-Eum-Tel, 57-89; 113-33, are giving important information, and Eumaeus is sent to the Palace (113-34) but not to Laertes (136-41)—it is the outburst of Odysseus (91-111) on hearing of the disorders in Ithaca, that makes inevitable Athena's revelation (centrepiece (*e*) 161-89). After this, (*d'*) in six alternate speeches, Odysseus and Telemachus exchange necessary information about Phaeacia (216-19) and the Suitors (241-7), and Odysseus reveals Athena's promise of help (259-61). All is thus in order for planning the vengeance (*c'* above) and the guilt of the Suitors is demonstrated (*b'* *a'*) on Eumaeus' return (465-75); Odysseus having been re-disguised silently at 456-7. The whole sequence is as follows:

	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>d'</i>	<i>c'</i>	<i>b'</i>	<i>a'</i>
XV	301-495	496-536	XVI 1-54	55-160	161-79	180-261	262-320	321-451	452-81

#### THE VENGEANCE OF ODYSSEUS, XVII-XXIV

This section, longer even than the Phaeacian (VI-XII), is composed of many incidents. Though these are narrated in order of time, with some alternate overlap, and though they are punctuated with a succession of omens and other clues to the progressive revelation of Odysseus, they are composed about a centrepiece, with a general balance and symmetry, and contribute to its significance. This centrepiece, however, is not the Massacre, as a modern reader would expect, nor Penelope's recognition of Odysseus, but her decision to abide by the test of the Bow, and the divine sanction which follows it. This is the αἴτιον (φόνου ἀρχήν XXIV. 169)—as the Bow itself had been ἀρχή ξεινοσύνης long before (XXI. 35). Odysseus recognises this (XIX. 583-7) and his soliloquy (XXI. 35, 21), central and uncompensated, marks the crisis. Penelope recognises it (XX. 61-90), and despairs, for she has not yet recognised Odysseus; and the divine sanction of Athena and Zeus (XX. 35-103) is confirmed by the voice of the common folk, in the corn-grinder's wish (XX. 112-19), central among the whole sequence of signs. From this new factor in the situation, the revelation of Odysseus to the Suitors follows, and his vengeance; to this, the earlier events accumulate and converge, from the prophecy of Theoclymenus (XVII. 132-61) to Eurycleia's discovery of the Scar (XIX. 363-475). The evidence for this construction is cumulative.

First, the revelation and recognition of Odysseus by tokens and omens, is in thirteen stages, discounting the recognition by Telemachus in XVI and by Laertes in XXIV which is the pendant to it—prologue and epilogue respectively to the main composition. Of these, six precede the sanction of Zeus in the centrepiece: (1) the prophecy of Theoclymenus (XVII. 151), (2) the recognition by the dog Argus (XVII. 291), (3) the sneeze of Telemachus (XVII. 541), (4) Odysseus' description of the brooch (XIX. 126-35, with his prophecy (270-307), (5) Eurycleia's discovery of the scar, (6) Penelope's dream of her geese (XX. 509-33). Six follow it: (1) Odysseus' prophecy to Philoetius (XX. 230-4), (2) the bird-omen of Amphinomus (XX. 240-6), (3) the darkness interpreted by Theoclymenus (XX. 395), (4) the recognition by Eumaeus and Philoetius, again through the scar (XXI. 207-20), (5) Odysseus' mastery of the bow, revealing him to the Suitors and again sanctioned by thunder (XXI. 402), and



(6) the token of the bed (XXIII. 166-72), which at last convinces Penelope. The proof by the scar recurs again for Laertes (with that by the fruit-trees, XXIV. 331-44), but this is not reckoned here, as it is the counterpart of the earlier recognition by Telemachus (XVI. 190). Thus Penelope's decision, confirmed by the sanction of Zeus and the corn-grinder's words, is centred in a large composition, with several counterparts; Theoclymenus intervening before and after; the token of the brooch balancing that of the bed; the maze of Telemachus and the second thunder of Zeus; recognition by Argus, and by faithful retainers; beside the double use of the scar, already noted; and the birds of Amphinomus, pendant to Penelope's geese, before and after the thunder of Zeus in the centrepiece. In the same relation to the centrepiece, Penelope's appearances are instructive, four before and three after it. Before it:

A. She greets Telemachus and Theoclymenus (XVII. 1-173) and hears Telemachus' tale of his journey (108-61): eight speeches, in pairs; but Penelope's εὔχετο (59) and Menelaus' speech reported by Telemachus, must be noted. The structure seems to be: P-T-(P): P.T(M)Th.P, for Theoclymenus corrects and supplements Telemachus (152-61).

B. Penelope gives and repeats her invitation to Odysseus (XVII. 492-588). Central is Telemachus' sneeze, between two pairs of triplets: P-Eur-P: P-Eum-P: T: P-Eum-O: T-Eum-P.

C. Penelope appears to the suitors and receives their gifts (XVIII. 158-345): central is the speech of Eurymachus (245-9) within the quintet P-T:-E-P-A (215-49): after this she receives the gifts, silently (290-303): before it, she has been herself beautified (293-303). All this is enframed between triplets, P-Eurynome-P (164-80) and Odysseus-Melantho-Odysseus: contrasting the good maid with the bad.

D. Penelope meets Odysseus (XIX. 53-308), questions him about his brooch (221-48) in a regular sequence of nine speeches, with Penelope's weaving central (309-34)—then bids Eurycleia to bathe him (380-507); ten speeches, the scar being revealed between nos. 5 and 6. Note that Melantho (XIX. 66-9) is counterfoil to Eurycleia (97-9), who is active both before and after the centrepiece (XIX. 363-498: XX. 135-56). Melantho is also involved, though not named, in the escapade of the bad women, which is the 'last straw' before Odysseus' central challenge to his troubles (XX. 5-15).

Then follows the centrepiece, as above (XIX. 508-XX. 119). After it, Penelope appears in the action thrice, and not before XXI. There is therefore no appearance immediately after the centrepiece, like D before it. The action, however, goes on till XX. 240 within the Palace, between Telemachus, Eurycleia and Eumaeus, and Philoetius is introduced at XX. 160.—Odysseus' assurance to him balances his assurance to Penelope (XIX. 585-7)—and at 242-3 the bird-omen of Amphinomus is the counterpart of Penelope's geese (XIX. 509-83).

After the centrepiece, then, Penelope takes part in the action thrice:

E. She comes forth to propose the test of the Bow (XXI. 1-79): it is her reply, in kind, to the gifts of the Suitors. Though she only retires after granting Odysseus' request, she does not speak between 79 and 362.

F. Penelope's concession to Odysseus (XXI. 275-342), carrying one step further her invitation to him to visit her (B), is the more significant, because, though she does not know who he is, she is bound to accept him if he succeeds in the test of the Bow. This may therefore rank as a distinct intervention, though she does not apparently leave the Hall between XXI. 79 and 312.

G. Penelope's recognition of Odysseus (XXIII. 1-299) is the counterpart to the prediction of Theoclymenus (XVII. 152-65) which it fulfils.

In view of the correspondences between GFE respectively and ABC, we may re-number them provisionally as C', B', A', and reckon the scenes which follow the centrepiece (XX. 122-240) as the counterpart of D. This experiment may now be tested—and will be confirmed—by the distribution of the intercalated scenes in which the Suitors collectively, or individual suitors, take part. These are as follows:

(a) This stands between A and B (XVII. 178-491): it introduces Melanthius (XVII. 212-258) as an agent of the Suitors; brings Odysseus into the presence of the Suitors (XVII. 256) with a false story (415-44); and recounts Antinous' insult to him (369-491).



(b) Between B and C stands Odysseus' encounter with Irus (XVIII. 1-157) provoked by Antinous (36-9; 43-9; 79-87).

(c) Between C and D the insult of Eurymachus (XVIII. 351-421) leads to the removal of the arms from the Hall (XIX. 1-52). Note that Athena's silent presence (33-4) does not interrupt the sequence of two triplets: Od-T-Eurycl. (4-25): T-T-Od (27-46).

After the centrepiece are three counterpart episodes:

(c') = (d) Following the centrepiece and its framing episodes (D) the insult of Ctesippus (XX. 292-302) exactly balances that of Eurymachus (XVIII. 351-421) in (c) and the comment of Agelaus (XX. 322-34) verbally repeats phrases of Amphinomus (XVIII. 414-17: 418).

(b') = (e) Between Penelope's speeches (XVI. 68-79: 312-19) the Suitors try to bend the Bow (XXI. 140-268). Their failure balances the defeat of Irus (b) which follows Penelope's invitation to Odysseus (B), as this episode precedes her permission to him to compete (B').

(a') = (f) The Massacre (XXII.) opens with the death of Antinous (1-30), avenging (with much else) his insult to Odysseus in (a) (XVII. 460-1). Melanthius' earlier insult (XVII. 217-32) is also avenged (474-7).

These pendant incidents certainly stand where they should in the historical development of the narrative; but their number is too great to be due to coincidence. The whole structure of this great composition may therefore be displayed thus:

A. Penelope-Theoclymenus, XVII. 1-177.	↑ A'. Penelope recognises Odysseus, XXIII. 1-343.
(a) Argus: Melanthius-Antinous, XVII. 178-491.	(a') The Massacre. Antinous and Melanthius, XXII. 501.
B. Penelope invites Odysseus, XVII. 492-588.	B'. Penelope allows Odysseus' claim, XXI. 270-403.
(b) Irus, XVIII. 1-157.	(b') The failure of the Suitors, XXI. 140-269.
C. Penelope receives Suitor's gifts, XVIII. 158-345.	C'. Penelope proposes the test of the Bow, XXI. 1-79.
(c) Insult of Eurymachus, XVIII. 346-425; XIX. 1-52.	(c') Insult of Ctesippus, XX. 240-394.
✓ D. Penelope receives Odysseus, XIX. 53-507.	D'. Telemachus-Eurycleia-Philoetius, XX. 120-240.
E. The test of the Bow: Odysseus' resolve: Athena and Zeus promise help, XIX. 509-XX. 119.	

Minor counterparts are the appearances of Phemius (a link with I. 154-33) in XVI. 252 (not named), XVII. 263, and again in XXII. 331, though he is little more than palace furniture; and of Medon (first in IV), then with Phemius (XVI. 252) and alone (XVI. 412; XVII. 172): he appears again with him in XXII. 357-80, and is active in XXIV. 439-42, as in IV.

The *Epilogue* (XXIV) is a triptych, as carefully wrought as any of the previous sections. The recognition of Odysseus by Laertes (205-411) has been delayed, for he was not needed earlier in the story—indeed care was taken to keep him out of it (XVI. 135-150) except by news through Penelope. Between a single speech to the servants (214-18) and a final triplet (394-407) introducing Dolius and his sons, there are ten speeches: Odysseus reveals himself in the fourth (221-6), and gives tokens in the sixth (331-44). Laertes' doubts are thus nearly central. Laertes' despair (315-17) is silent: if ἀδινὰ στενοχίτων represents a speech, it separates adjacent speeches of Odysseus, and completes the symmetry.

This centrepiece is preceded by the *Descent of the Suitors to Hades* (1-204) in which, as in I and IV, the fortunes of Odysseus are contrasted with those of Agamemnon, and Nestor appears once more. Achilles makes no reply to Agamemnon (but 98 ἀγόρευον), so Agamemnon's second speech (106-19) is central, and Amphimedon's narrative is counterpart to Agamemnon's account of the burial of Achilles: honourable and dishonourable ends are contrasted. Amphimedon's version excuses little; superior wit, and divine help, have won: there is no hint of retribution after death: like Elpenor he only claims decent burial (189-90). Agamemnon reverts to the old contrast between Penelope and Clytaemnestra (197-202).

The counterpart to this is the *End of the Feud* (XXIV. 412-544), which had troubled Laertes (351-5). The suitors' clans are represented in a triplet: Eupheithes-Medon-Halitherses (426-62: but note 470 φῆ δ' ὁ γὰρ Eupheithes): the House of Arcesius has a quintet:



Odysseus-Dolius-Odysseus-Telemachus-Laertes (506-515): central is Odysseus' confidence (506-9) that Telemachus is worthy of his forebears. He has already received the loyalty of Dolius and his sons (491-95); Telemachus and Laertes respond (311-15). These scenes in Ithaca enframe the appeal of Athena to Zeus, and his decision that the Feud shall end (473-86). They are followed by Athena's solution of the problem (between two speeches from Athena); Laertes, head of Odysseus' clan, kills Eupheithes, father of Antinous; Zeus thunders; Athena closes this final triplet (542-4); and Odysseus makes peace with his neighbours.

The significance of this elaborate and sustained mode of composition is not easy to estimate. It dominates the structure and general arrangement of episodes, but does not prescribe or limit their scale or contents: long speeches may be balanced by short; long scenes also by short, especially in the latter half of a balanced composition. The effect of this is to quicken the movement and relieve fatigue.

Occasionally an episode has no speeches; but sometimes, both in these 'silent' passages, and also within groups of speeches, words occur describing or implying speeches. Examples are:

- I. 425-9. Telemachus and Eurycleia: bedtime: no speeches.
- II. 384-5. Athena, disguised, φάτο μύθον . . . ἀνώγει, followed by two speeches (402-12), and completing a triplet: Ath-Ath-T. But note that Noemon also ὑπέδεκτο (387).
- II. 377-8. Eurycleia's oath is silent, and stands outside the triplet Tel-Eur-Tel (349-76).
- III. 64. Telemachus ἤρατο, completing the triplet Peis-Men-[Tel] (43-61).
- V. 225-7. Calypso is silent, after Odysseus has compared her to Penelope: there was indeed nothing to say: but the structure (203-27) is Cal-Od-[Cal]. If these speeches were not separated by a meal-time from the preceding triplet (161-191), they might form a quintet with Calypso's promise central (182-90), but she begins quite afresh in 203. Later, Calypso μήδετο πόμπην (233) and later still gave sailing directions ἀνώγει (276), but again she bids no farewell (268).
- VI. 235-315. Nausicaa's speech is not followed by any counterpart to Odysseus (143-85): but see p. 3.
- IX. The Cicones and Lotophagi are speechless; but Odysseus ἠνώγεα . . . οὐκ ἐπίθοντο (44), and the Cicones γεγώνευν (4): Compare κλαίοντας (98), προΐειν πύθισθαι (88).
- IX. 224-8. A triplet with Odysseus (172-6) is completed by λίσσοντο . . . οὐ πιθόμην.
- IX. 395-9. The Cyclops' cries, ὤμωξεν . . . ἤπνευ are central but inarticulate.
- X. 13-18. In the first visit to Aeolus ἐξερέεινε (13), κατέλεξα (16), οὐδὲ . . . ἀνήνατο (18) mark a silent triplet: counterpart to the later triplet 64-75.
- X. 109-228. In the Laestygian episode are five speech-words: προιεφώνεον (109), ἐπέφραδεν (111), ἐκόλει (central 114), τεῦχε βοήν (118), ἐκέλευσα (128).
- X. 345-7. Circe's oath is silent: compare the circumstances of Calypso's silence: but it does not affect the structure unless it be as centrepiece standing between two triplets (320-344: 378-405).
- X. 551-60. Elpenor is silent; so also his burial (XII. 8-15).
- XII. 34-35. Circe ἐξερέεινε (34): Odysseus κατέλεξα (35), but the story has already been told.
- XII. Scylla and Charybdis; no speeches, but φθέγγοντο (249), κεκλήγοντας (256).
- XII. 303. The sailors ἀπώμνυνον between triplets (271-302: 320-73): compare Circe's oath (X. 345-7); cf. XII. 392.
- XII. 371-6. Lampetië ἀγγελος ἦλθε, completing the following triplet: 377-8, [L]-Helios-Zeus.
- XII. 392. The sailors νεύουσιν: the counterpart to 303 above.
- XV. 233-81. The sequence [ ]—Theoclymenus-Tel-Theocl-Tel is unbalanced, for Telemachus' account of himself is central (266-72) between Theoclymenus' two speeches; but Telemachus εὐχέτο (222, cf. 258), and the long introduction of Theoclymenus anticipates enquiry.
- XVI. 338-40. Eumaeus speaks as already directed, supplementing the Herald's news, and Penelope is silent. The Herald's speech is in the triplet Her-Eurym-Amphinomus (346-357, balancing 400-447).



- XVI. 456-7. Athena disguises Odysseus silently, but completes the final triplet [Ath]-Tel-Eumaeus (461-75). She had described her magic already (161-71).
- XVII. 59. Penelope εὔχετο completing a triplet P-T-[P] (41-59).
- XVII. 291-303. The dog Argus has the leading place in a triplet [A]-O-Eum. He could not speak, but he raised his head. The speech of Achilles' horse, Xanthus, is the centre of a triplet // XIX. 400-23.
- XVII. 362-8. Here a whole triplet is speechless: Athena δῖπυε (362): Odysseus goes begging αἰτήσων (365), and the Suitors εἶποντο (368). This stands between two larger compositions, the triptych of triplets (256-355, including Argus as above) and a composition of thirteen speeches (369-491) for the insult of Antinous.
- XIX. 393-466. In the episode of the scar, the centrepiece is a sequence of nine speeches: central is Odysseus' admission of the likeness seen by Eurycleia (383-5) followed immediately by her discovery, which has to be silent, but is explained by the long story of the boar hunt (392-466) between the two halves of the dialogue.
- XX. 5-15. The escapade of the bad women (5-15) is deliberately silent till Odysseus' soliloquy (18-21).
- XX. 240-3. The suitors (13) plot (ῆρτυον) without speeches, and are checked by the omen of Amphinomus (243-6): compare the end of the same scene, where they propose, as alternative, to drive Odysseus away (376-83) after the warning of Theoclymenus (337-75).
- XXI. 11-41. The Bow is introduced without speeches, like Theoclymenus in XV. above.
- XXI. 203. Eumaeus ἐπεύχετο in the same words as Philoetius and does not affect the structure of the triplet: O-Ph[E]-O (193-241); but their wordless weeping (220-7) completes the quintet.
- XXII. 408. Eurycleia's δόλουξε is inarticulate; and in 498 ἀπλετος ἐπλετο μῦθος, and no place is left for her to speak.
- XXIII. 286-7. After Penelope's last speech, Odysseus' story of his wanderings is silent; it has already been told: compare V. 225-7 (Calypso); XII. 34-5 (Circe).
- XXIV. 317. Laertes ἀδινὰ στεναχίζων is inarticulate: so also his transformation (370, θώμαζε) till Odysseus speaks (373-4).

These correspondences are too numerous to be accidental. They show that the balanced arrangement of the speeches throughout is also not accidental, but a structure upon which the narrative and descriptive passages are built up. The rare 'speechless triplets'—Cicones (X. 44-7), Odysseus' begging (XVII. 362-8),—give a glimpse of the way the poet worked, expanding or leaving in outline, as the poem grew. Like the conventional lines and half-lines, such a structure made it easier both to compose, and to remember, a long and elaborate story. That it has remained undetected so long, shows how completely the poet was master of his art. It is for each reader to judge how much of the literary charm of the *Odyssey* is due to this recurrent rhythm, like the recurrence of phrases and themes in a piece of music.

It is a further question, how far this rhythmical structure correlates the *Odyssey* with a cultural and historical setting. That it remained in use in the fifth century, is clear from its survival in the *Histories* of Herodotus—on which I hope to say something elsewhere—and in the *stichomythiai* of Aeschylus. In the same way, the 'heraldic' grouping of figures in earlier vase-decoration developed into the subtler rhythms of fifth-century painting and sculpture: the triptych-composition of the Marathon fresco in the *Stoa Poekile*, the pediments of Aegina, Olympia, and the Parthenon. And conversely, those earlier constructions in nascent Greek art are inherited from the abstract 'geometric' decoration of the Early Iron Age, which achieves balanced compositions even more elaborate than the five-fold and seven-fold schemes of speeches in the *Odyssey*. In a phase of culture where every banquet was furnished with geometrically decorated cups and bowls, there was no incongruity in a narrative-lay constructed with centrepieces and counterpart side-panels. Just so, there was no incongruity, but mutual harmony and inspiration between the engraved metal bowls of a rather later period, and the carved and inlaid *Chest of Cypselus*, the Hesiodic *Shield of Heracles*, the Homeric belt of Heracles in Hades (Od. XI. 604-605), or the *Shield of Achilles* itself (Il. XVIII. 478-603).

[For these, see *JHS* LXVI. 122 (Cypselus); LXI. 17-38 (Hesiodic Shield); *Who were the Greeks* (Berkeley 1930), 517-23 (Shield of Achilles): and for similar rhythms in the *Iliad* *JHS*



LII. 265-96, esp. 265-88; for Herodotus, *Herodotus, The Father of History* (Oxford: in the press); for Aeschylus, *Proc. Brit. Acad.* XXXV.]

It will be seen that the approximate date thus indicated for the *Odyssey* is rather earlier than those recently suggested by Rhys-Carpenter, *Folktale Fiction, and Saga in the Homeric Epics*, Berkeley 1946, and Mireaux *Les Poèmes homériques et l'histoire grecque*, I. 1948, on historical and archaeological grounds. But the survival of the rhythmical technique into the literature of the early fifth century makes the initial similarity between epic and geometric art an upper limit only. Graphic as the Homeric descriptions are, and close as some of the subjects are to those of Minoan frescoes and seal-engraving,—a topic with which I have dealt on another occasion (*BSA* XLV. 229-260)—a poem constructed like our *Odyssey* would have been quite incongruous at a Minoan festival, and could hardly have been conceived as a work of art before the climax of the geometric style, somewhere between the tenth and the eighth century. We are thus brought back once more, by a quite fresh route, to the traditional 'date for Homer' four hundred years before Herodotus.



## THE STRUCTURE OF THE ODYSSEY: MAIN COMPOSITION

A. TELEMACHUS SEEKING ODYSSEUS, I-V	Bk.	Vv.
A. <i>Olympus</i> : Zeus, prologue 32-43. Cf. epilogue XXIV. 472-87 Athena 45-62: Zeus 64-79: Athena 81-95	I	1-105
B. <i>Ithaca</i> : <i>Mentes</i> : Telemachus (to Mentes) 123-4: Telemachus 157-77: Mentes (news) 179-212	I	106-323
Telemachus 214-20: <i>Mentes</i> 222-9: Telemachus 231-51: Mentes (news) 253-305: Telemachus 307-13: Mentes 315-17	I	324-444
<i>The New Regime</i> . Penelope 337-44: Telemachus 346-59 Telemachus 368-80: Antinous 384-7: <i>Tel</i> 389-98: Eurymachus 400-11: Telemachus 413-19 <[Telemachus 425: Eurycleia 429]>	I	
<i>The Debate</i> . Aegyptius 25-34: Telemachus 40-79 Antinous 85-128: Telemachus 130-45 omen 146: Halitherses 161-76 Eurymachus 178-207: Telemachus 209-23	II	1-259
Mentor 229-41: Leocritus 243-55 Tel 262-6: Ath (Mentor) 270-95 Antinous 303-8 Tel 310-20: <i>tis</i> 325-30: <i>tis</i> 332-6	II	260-434
<i>The Departure for Pylos</i> . Tel 349-60: Eurycleia 363-70: Tel 372-6 <[Eur: oath 377-8]> <[Tel (Ath)]> 382-87: Mentor (Ath) 402-4: Tel 410-12	II	
C. <i>Pylos</i> : Prologue. Mentor 14: Telemachus 24: Mentor 26 Peisistratus 43-50: Mentor 55-6: libation <Tel> 61 Nestor 69-74: Telemachus 79-101 Nestor ( <i>nostos</i> ) 103-200: Telemachus 202-9 NESTOR (Odysseus) 224: Tel 226-8: M 230: T 240 Nestor (Agam. Men.) 254-312: continued Nestor (advice) 313-28: Mentor 331-6 Nestor 346-56: Mentor 353-70: Nestor 375-84 Epilogue. Nestor 418-28: sacrifice: εὐξάντο 447, 430-70: Nestor (farewell) 475-6	III	1-407
C'. <i>Sparta</i> : Prologue. Eteoneus 20-9: Menelaus 31-6: Men. 60-4: food Telemachus 71-5: Menelaus (travels) 78-112: Helen 138-46 Menelaus 147-54 (travels): Peisistratus 158-167 Menelaus (invitation to Od) 169-82 Menelaus 204-15 ← Peisistratus 190-202: food Telemachus 291-5 ← Menelaus 266-89 ← Helen 255-64 [bed-time]	IV	1-295
Menelaus (312-4): Tel 315-31 (troubles in Ithaca) Menelaus 333-92 ( <i>Proteus</i> : news of Odysseus) Menelaus 611-19 (presents) ← Tel 594-605 (departure)	IV	312-610
B'. <i>Ithaca</i> 623-847 Prologue. Noemon 632-7: Antinous 642-7: Noemon 649-56 [Antinous 663-56 (proposes ship)] Penelope 681-95: Medon 697-702: Penelope 707-10 Medon 712-13 (hints at divine help) Penelope 762-6 ← Eurycleia 749-57 ← Pen 722-41 [tis 770-1: Antinous 774-7 (prepares ship)] Athena 804-7: Penelope 814-23 Athena 825-9 (promises help) Athena 836-7 ← Penelope 831-4 [Suitors sail to Asteris 842]	IV	651-741
A'. <i>Olympus-Ogygia-Phaeacia</i> : <i>Olympus</i> . Athena 7-20: Zeus 22-8: Zeus 29-42 (to Hermes) <i>Ogygia</i> . Calypso 87-91: Hermes 97-115: Calypso 117-44 Hermes 146-7 Calypso 160-70: Odysseus 173-9: Calypso 182-97: [food] Calypso 203-13: Odysseus 215-24: [Calypso ἀνώγα 276] <i>Phaeacia</i> . Poseidon 286-90: Odysseus 299-312 Leucothea 339-54 Odysseus 356-64: Poseidon 377-9 Epilogue. Odysseus 408-23: Od 445-50 (prayer): Od 465-73	V	1-54
	V	55-282
	V	283-379
	V	408-93



## B. PHAEACIA AND THE WANDERINGS, VI-XIII 197

*Odysseus in Phaeacia* VI, VII, VIII

[68-70]

<i>Prologue.</i> Athena (to Nausicaa) 25-40: Nausicaa 57-65: Alcinous   Odysseus   119-26	VI	1-126
<i>Nausicaa.</i> Odysseus 149-55: Nausicaa 187-97: N to maids 199-210 <i>Odysseus</i> 218-22		
N to maids 239-46: Nausicaa 235-315, τις 276-84   Odysseus   324-7 (prayer)	VI	127-315
Odysseus 22-6: Athena 28-36: Athena 48-77	VII	316-331 1-80
<i>Palace.</i> Odysseus (to Arete) 146-52 (asks escort) Echeneus 159-66: Alcinous 179-81: <i>Alc</i> 186-206 Odysseus 208-25: Arete 237-9: Odysseus 241-97 Alcinous 299-301: Odysseus 303-7: <i>Alcinous</i> 309-28 Odysseus 331-3 (accepts escort) [maids 342 (bedtime)]	VII	81-347
<i>Games, Dances and Presents</i> Athena (Keryx) 11-14 Alcinous 26-45 (calls Demodocus) <i>Demodocus</i> I 62-82 Alcinous 97-113 (games) Laodamas 133-9: Euryalus 141-2: Laodamas 145-51: Odysseus 153-7: Euryalus 159-64 Odysseus 166-85: Athena 195-8: Odysseus 202-33 Alcinous 236-55 (singing) <i>Demodocus</i> II 266-366 Ares 292-4: Heph. 306-20: τις 329-32 Apollo 335-7: Hermes 339-42 Poseidon 347-8: Heph. 350-3: Pos 355-6 Alcinous ἐκέλευσε 370 (dancing) Od 382-5 Alcinous 387-97 (presents) Euryalus 401-5, 408-11: Od 413-15 Alcinous 424-32 (presents) Arete 443-5: Naus. 461-2: Od 464-8: Od 477-81: Od 487-98 <i>Demodocus</i> III 499-520 Alcinous 576-86 (asks for Od's story) [Wanderings of Odysseus IX-XII (v. below C)]		
<i>Departure: arrival in Ithaca</i> XIII 1-164 Alcinous 4-15: Odysseus 38-46: Alc 59-62 Odysseus 59-61 (departure)	VIII	1-585
<i>Olympus:</i> Athena 128-38: Zeus 140-5 <i>Poseidon</i> 146-52: Zeus 154-8 <i>Phaeacia:</i> τις 168-9: Alcinous 172-83		

## C. THE WANDERINGS OF ODYSSEUS, IX-XII

Odysseus' story begins 1-38 (Ithaca, Troy, Circe, Calypso) <i>Cicones</i> 39-61 To Cythera 62-81 <i>Lotophagi</i> 83-104	IX	1-104
<i>Cyclops:</i> arrival 105: island 116: hunting 152: Odysseus (to shipmates) 172-6: wine 192-215: Cyclops comes 235-49 <shipmates: λίσσοντο 224: Od οὐ πιθόμην 228>		
<i>Cyclops</i> 252-5: Odysseus 259-71 (boasting): Cyclops (no gods) 273-80: Odysseus 283-6 Odysseus (wine) 347-52	IX	105-251
Cyclops 355-9: Od (οὐ τις) 364-7: Cyclops 369-70 <blinding 371>		
Cyclopes 402-6: <i>Cyclops</i> 408: Cyclopes 410-12 <escape 420>	IX	252-352
Cyclops (ram) 447-60: Odysseus 475-9: Companion 494-9 Odysseus (name) 502-5: <i>Cyclops</i> 501-2: Od 503-5		
<i>Cyclops</i> (to Poseidon) 527-35.	IX	343-436
	IX	437-525
	IX	526-566







## D. ODYSSEUS RETURNS TO ITHACA AND MEETS EUMAEUS AND TELEMACHUS XIII-XVI

<i>Phaeacia</i> : epilogue and departure [see above B]	XIII	1-164
<i>Ithaca</i> . Odysseus 200-16		
Odysseus 228-35 (question): Athena (disguised) 237-49 Odysseus (story) 256-86	}	XIII 217-328
(a) Odysseus (repeats question) 312-28: Ath revealed 291-310		
Athena (answer) 330-51: Od ( <i>prayer</i> ) 356-60: Ath 362-5	XIII	339-371
Athena 375-81: Odysseus 383-9 Athena 393-415 (intention to disguise) Odysseus 417-9: Athena 421-8 (disguises Od)	}	XIII 273-440
Eumaeus 37-47: Odysseus 53-4: Eumaeus 56-70 Eumaeus 85-108: Od 115-120 ( <i>offers news</i> ): Eumaeus (Penelope) 122-47		
(b) Odysseus (news) 149-64: Eum ( <i>Telemachus</i> ) 166-90: Od (story) 192-359 Eumaeus (rumours) 361-89: Od ( <i>wages</i> ) 391-400: Eum 402-8	}	XIV 1-408
Eumaeus 414-7: Odysseus (grateful) 441-2 Eum ( <i>welcome</i> ) 443-5 Od (cloak) 462-506: Eumaeus 508-17		
	XIV	409-533

## SPARTA AND PYLOS XV 1-300

<i>Sparta</i> . Athena 11-42: <i>Telemachus</i> 46-7: Peisistratus 49-55 Telemachus 64-6: Menelaus 68-85: Telemachus 89-91 Menelaus (blessing and gifts) 111-19	}	XV 1-55
Helen 125-9: Menelaus 151-3: Telemachus 155-9 <omen 160-5> Peisistratus 167-8: Helen 172-8: Telemachus 180-1		
<i>Pylos</i> . Telemachus 195-201: Peisistratus 209-14: Telemachus 218-19 <Theoclymenus (story: no speech) 233-55> <Tel εὔχεται 222>: Theoclymenus (enquiry) 260-4 Telemachus 266-70	}	XV 185-216
Theoclymenus (request) 272-8: Telemachus 280-1		
	XV	220-300

## THE RETURN OF TELEMACHUS; XV 301-XVI 481

(a) Odysseus 307-24: Eumaeus 325-9: Odysseus 341-50 Eumaeus (news of Laertes and Penelope) Odysseus 381-8: Eumaeus (his story) 390-484: Odysseus 486-92	}	XV 301-495
(b) Telemachus 503-7: Theoclymenus 509-21: Telemachus 513-24 <omen 525-8> Theoclymenus (interprets) 531-4 Telemachus 536-9: Telemachus (to P) 540-3: Peiraeus 545-6		
(c) Odysseus 8-10: Eumaeus 23-9: Tel 31-5: Eum 37-9: Tel 44-5	XVI	1-39
(d) Telemachus 57-9: Eumaeus 61-7: Telemachus 69-89 Odysseus (indignant at the state of Ithaca) 91-111 Telemachus 113-34: Eumaeus 136-41: Telemachus 146-53	}	XVI 40-155
(e) Athena (transforms Od) 161-71, 173-6: Telemachus 181-5: Odysseus (revealed) 187-9 Telemachus 194-200 (doubts): Odysseus (convinces) 202-4: Telemachus 222-4		
(d') Odysseus (Phaeacia): Telem (suitors) 241-7: Odysseus (Athena's help) 359-61	}	XVI 321-451
(e') Telemachus 263-5: Odysseus (plan) 267-307: Tel 309-20 Herald (Medon) 337 <Eumaeus εἶπε 338-40> <Penelope silent> Eurymachus (plot) 346-50: Amphinomus (warning) 355-7		
(b') Antinous 364-92 (plot) Eurymachus 435-47 ← Penelope 417-33 ← Amphinomus (warning) 400-5	XVI	321-451
(a') <Athena disguises Od 456-7> Telemachus 461-3: Eumaeus 465-75	XVI	452-481



## E. THE VENGEANCE OF ODYSSEUS XVII-XXIV

A.	Telemachus 6-15: Odysseus 17-25 (arranging journey to Palace) Penelope 41-4: Telemachus 46-56 (Penelope prays 59) εὐχέτο	} XVII	1-60
	Peiraeus 75-6: Telemachus 78-83 Penelope 101-6: Telemachus 108-49 (journey: reported speech of Menelaus 124-46) Theoclymenus 152-61 (prophecy): Penelope 163-5 Medon (to suitors) 174-6	} XVII	61-177
	Eumaeus 185-90: Odysseus 193-6: <i>Melanthius</i> 217-32 (strikes Odysseus): Eum 240-6: Mel 248-53	} XVII	178-255
	<i>Palace</i> : Odysseus 263-71: Eumaeus 273-9: Odysseus 281-9 <Argus, no speech 291-303> Odysseus 306-10: Eumaeus 312-23 (337) Telemachus 345-7: Eumaeus 350-2: Odysseus 354-5	} XVII	256-355
	<Athena tells Odysseus to beg 360-68: suitors reply 365-7> δῖπυε 362: εἰποντο 368		360-367
(a)	<i>Melanthius</i> 370-3 Antinous 375-8: Eumaeus <i>protest</i> 381-91: Telemachus 793-5 Telemachus 397-404: <i>Antinous</i> 406-8 (stool), 409 ODYSSEUS 415-44 (story) <i>Antinous</i> 446-52: Odysseus 454-7 <i>Antinous</i> 460-1 (stool): Odysseus ( <i>protest</i> ) 468-76: Ant 478-80 Suitor τῆς 483-7	} XVII	369-491
B.	Penelope 494: Eurynome 496-7: Penelope 499-504 Penelope (invites Od) 508-11: Eumaeus 513-27: Tel 529-40 Telemachus sneezes 541 Penelope 544-50 (invites again): Eumaeus 553-9: Od 561-73 Penelope 576-8: Eumaeus 580-4: Penelope 586-8 [(wait)]	} XVII	492-588
	Eumaeus 593-7: Telemachus 599-601: Eum (back home) 602-7		
<i>Irus</i> :	<i>Irus</i> 10-13: Od 15-24: <i>Irus</i> 26-31 Antinous 36-9	} XVIII	1-65
(b)	Antinous 43-9: Odysseus 82-7: Telemachus 61-5		
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<i>Gifts</i> :	Penelope 164-8: <i>Eurynome</i> 70-6: Penelope 178-80 [Penelope 187-285 (after sleep) 201-5: she is beautiful herself (compensated) 290-303] Penelope 215-25: Telemachus 227-41		
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N.B.—In these tables each pedimental group of speeches has a separate line. The central item is in *italics*. Longer compositions are grouped under brackets before the reference to book and lines.

JOHN L. MYRES



## THE PROGRESS OF GREEK EPIGRAPHY, 1948-9

THE present bibliography, which relates to the years 1948 and 1949, follows the same general lines as its predecessors. Books and articles not accessible to me are marked by an asterisk. Once again I ask all scholars who have facilitated my task by sending me copies of their works to accept this expression of my heartfelt thanks.

Death has deprived Greek epigraphical studies in recent years of some of their outstanding exponents. Among these I name K. M. Apostolides,<sup>1</sup> C. Blinkenberg,<sup>2</sup> G. F. Hill,<sup>3</sup> P. Jouguet,<sup>4</sup> E. Kalinka,<sup>5</sup> O. Kern,<sup>6</sup> A. Körte,<sup>7</sup> A. Rehm<sup>8</sup> and J. Zingerle.<sup>9</sup> G. Klaffenbach pays<sup>10</sup> a warm tribute to the character and work of F. Hiller von Gaertringen, and H. Bengtson<sup>10a</sup> to that of E. Ziebarth.

### I. GENERAL

My summary for 1945-7 appeared in *JHS* LXVII. 90 ff., and, so far as Egypt and Nubia are concerned, in *JEA* XXXIV. 109 ff. J. and L. Robert have issued<sup>11</sup> two further invaluable 'Bulletins Épigraphiques', covering the period from 1946 to the early part of 1949, and two volumes of the *Année Philologique* of J. Marouzeau and J. Ernst deal<sup>12</sup> with the publications of 1945-6 and 1947 respectively, while of the *Année Épigraphique*, edited by A. Merlin, a further instalment<sup>13</sup> has appeared in *RA*, aimed chiefly at overtaking arrears caused by the war. Of the *Archäologische Bibliographie* the volume for 1943, edited by P. Geissler, was issued in 1947, and a large number of epigraphical discoveries are reported in the *Fasti Archaeologici*<sup>14</sup> for 1946 and 1947. Among bibliographies of the works of individual scholars I note those of C. Blinkenberg,<sup>15</sup> C. Picard,<sup>16</sup> J. Sundwall,<sup>17</sup> M. N. Tod<sup>18</sup> and W. Vollgraff.<sup>19</sup>

No further instalments of the *IG* or the *ICret* have appeared, but J. Stroux gives<sup>20</sup> a welcome assurance of the continuation of *IG* under the auspices of the Berlin Academy and the expert direction of G. Klaffenbach. To L. Robert's *Hellenica* no fewer than four volumes<sup>21</sup> have been added, the main contents of which will be briefly noticed in their appropriate places, and J. J. E. Hondius has edited vol. X of *SEG* (see below, p. 26).

The *Oxford Classical Dictionary* contains a short article<sup>22</sup> on Greek Epigraphy by M. N. Tod, and one<sup>23</sup> on the Greek Alphabet by J. W. Pirie; I do not know C. Ricci's essay<sup>24</sup> on how to interpret an inscription. B. D. Meritt gives an account<sup>25</sup> of the inscriptions copied by Francis Vernon in Greek lands in 1675-6. P. Amandry summarizes<sup>26</sup> the damage sustained in the war by the epigraphical collections in Athens and Thessaly.

In the field of language and literature I note G. V. Vitucci's discussion<sup>27</sup> of the Country Dionysia in Attica (below, p. 29). P. Friedländer, with the collaboration of H. B. Hoffleit, edits<sup>28</sup> a collection of 259 Greek inscriptions in verse (of which forty-one, though once inscribed, have survived only in the literary tradition), arranged according to their metrical form, with a commentary which deals primarily with form, metre and literary affinities: the present volume covers the period prior to the Persian Wars and will be followed by three more, dealing with epigrams of the classical, Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods. Vol. IV of Robert's *Hellenica* bears the sub-title 'Épigrammes du Bas-Empire'. M. Guarducci examines<sup>29</sup> a couplet (Kaibel, *Epigr. Graeca*, 198) dwelling on the sadness of an early death, which occurs

<sup>1</sup> *Ob.* 20.9.42; *Επιστολ.* XVII. 466.

<sup>2</sup> *Ob.* 25.1.48; *REG* LXII. 94.

<sup>3</sup> *Ob.* 18.10.48; *CRAI* 1948, 539 ff., *Num Chron* 1949, Proc. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Chron. d'Ég.* XXIV. 375, *AJA* LIV. 134.

<sup>5</sup> *Ob.* 15.6.46; *Gnomon.* XXI. 277 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Gnomon.* XVIII. 124 f. <sup>7</sup> *Gnomon.* XXI. 179 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Ob.* 31.7.49. <sup>9</sup> *Ob.* 27.2.47.

<sup>10</sup> *Gnomon.* XXI. 274 ff.

<sup>10a</sup> *Hist. Zts.* CLXIX. 665 f.

<sup>11</sup> *REG* LXI. 137 ff., LXII. 92 ff.

<sup>12</sup> XVII, XVIII, Paris, 1948.

<sup>13</sup> *RA* XXVIII. 180 ff. <sup>14</sup> Florence, 1948, 1949.

<sup>15</sup> \* C. Hoeg, C. Blinkenberg, 16 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 94.

<sup>16</sup> *Mél. Picard*, ix ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Acta Ac. Abo.* XV. 1 ff.

<sup>18</sup> *An Address presented to M. N. Tod* (Oxford, 1948), 11 ff.

<sup>19</sup> *Studia varia C. G. Vollgraff oblata* (Amsterdam, 1948), 179 ff.

<sup>20</sup> *AJP* LXX. 315 f.; cf. *Mus. Helv.* VI. 250 f.

<sup>21</sup> IV-VII, Paris, 1948-9; cf. *REG* LXII. 93, 96.

<sup>22</sup> Oxford, 1949, 327 ff. <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* 39.

<sup>24</sup> \* *Anales Inst. Lit. Clásicas*, II. 5 ff.

<sup>25</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 213 ff.

<sup>26</sup> *BCH* LXXI-II. 383 f. <sup>27</sup> *Dioniso*, VII. 210 ff., 312 ff.

<sup>28</sup> *Epigrammata*, University of California Press, 1948; cf. *Cl. Weekly*, XLIII. 155 ff., *AJA* LIV. 151 f., *BCH* LXXIII. 482 ff., *REG* LXII. 95 f., *Mus. Helv.* VI. 232, *JHS* LXIX. 103.

<sup>29</sup> *Riv Fil* LXXVII. 118 ff.



with slight variations in many epigrams, and traces its origin to a certain Κερέλλατος μαντιάρχης, probably a Cyprian. A. Wilhelm adduces<sup>30</sup> epigraphical examples of the word ὀνομαστί, which he substitutes for the unintelligible ἐν ὀνόματι of Lycurgus, *Leocr.* 9, collects<sup>31</sup> numerous illustrations of the use of a prepositional phrase in place of a simple genitive, and adds<sup>32</sup> to Greek lexicography a number of words found in inscriptions. G. Risch surveys<sup>33</sup> the scope and value of dialect-geography with reference to ancient Greece. G. Björck, investigating the meaning of εἰς ἀπ' αἰῶνος, quotes<sup>34</sup> the phrase πρῶτος τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος γυμνασιαρχήσαντων from a dedication at Pachnemunis (*Sammelb.* 176), and similar phrases are collected<sup>35</sup> by M. N. Tod. Epigraphical evidence also enters into H. W. Parke's examination<sup>36</sup> of the word δεκατεύω, and K. Latte's discussion<sup>37</sup> of the political terms δημεύειν, παματοφαγεῖσθαι and δάσσασθαι is based almost wholly on their use in inscriptions.

Even more valuable are the contributions made by epigraphical studies to the political, military, social and economic history of the Greek and Greco-Roman world. Here I mention only works of a general character, leaving those which deal with specific localities to later sections of this review. H. Bengtson's admirable *Einführung in die alte Geschichte*<sup>38</sup> contains a brief account of inscriptions as sources for ancient history (pp. 113 ff.) and a useful bibliography (pp. 123 ff.). Vol. II of M. N. Tod's *Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions (GHI)*<sup>39</sup> comprises 108 texts, with historical commentary, ranging from 403 to 323 B.C., as well as the relevant portion of the 'Parian Marble'. A. Aymard devotes two careful studies<sup>40</sup> to the titulature of the Macedonian kings, whose official title, βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων, implies a national royalty and is used to enhance the prestige of their position; he stresses the profound effect on Greek political ideas and speech caused by Alexander, who, though he did not create the idea of personal monarchy, carried it to its highest pitch. A third edition has appeared<sup>41</sup> of H. Malcovati's collection of Augustus' works, and V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones have rendered a valuable service to students of ancient history by their selection of *Documents illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*,<sup>42</sup> excluding those relating to the administration of Egypt; of the 366 documents (inscriptions, coins, papyri, and a few passages from literature) here presented eighty-one are Greek or bilingual inscriptions. I call attention to J. H. Oliver's review<sup>43</sup> of E. Groag's two works on the Imperial officials of Achaëa (cf. *JHS* LXII. 53, LXVII. 92), which offers some addenda to Groag's lists, as well as valuable historical notes, based on inscriptions, on some of the officials in question. M. Launey's *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*<sup>44</sup> also draws largely on epigraphical materials. M. N. Tod contributes to the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* brief accounts of Greek interstate arbitration (pp. 77 f.) and of Greek clubs and societies (pp. 204 f.), both derived mainly from epigraphical sources, as is also an article<sup>45</sup> in which he considers the record-breaking spirit of the Greeks and its verbal expression. G. Fohlen studies<sup>46</sup> some professions (including those of professors, students, doctors, poets, actors, musicians and priests) recorded in Greek metrical epitaphs, and W. L. Westermann investigates<sup>47</sup> the παραμονή of manumissions, which he regards as a 'general service contract'. H. I. Marrou's important work on ancient education<sup>48</sup> draws largely on Greek inscriptions in its account of the Hellenistic period. L. Robert makes considerable additions<sup>49</sup> to his collection of monumental evidence for gladiatorial contests in the Greek world. Many inscriptions, too, are cited in the third edition<sup>50</sup> of J. J. Bachofen's *Das Mutterrecht* (see index, pp. 1168 f.). In the field of economics I note S. J. de Laet's exhaustive work entitled *Portorium*,<sup>51</sup> which pays special attention (pp. 356 ff.) to the customs-tariff of Palmyra (*OGI* 629), I. A. Meletopoulos' discussion<sup>52</sup> of the transaction of πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει, attested both by literature and by inscriptions, and M. N. Tod's article<sup>53</sup> on the obol, following his previous discussions of the kollybos and the chalkous (cf. *JHS* LXVII. 92). In the sphere of chronology two notable contributions relate primarily to Attica and are mentioned

<sup>30</sup> *Wien. Stud.* LXI-II. 68 ff. <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* 172 ff.

<sup>32</sup> P. Kretschmer-E. Locker, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch*, 683 ff.

<sup>33</sup> *Mus. Helv.* VI. 19 ff. <sup>34</sup> *Eranos*, XLVI. 72 ff.

<sup>35</sup> *CQ* XLIII. 111 f.; cf. *Symb. Oslo*, XXVII. 39.

<sup>36</sup> *Hermathena*, LXXII. 82 ff.

<sup>37</sup> *Gött. Nachr.* 1946-7, 64 ff.; cf. *REG* LXI. 140.

<sup>38</sup> Munich, 1949.

<sup>39</sup> Oxford, 1948; cf. *Cl Phil* XLIV. 262 f., *JHS* LXVIII.

<sup>40</sup> *Gnomon*, XXI. 264, *REG* LXII. 92, *DLZ* LXIX. 498 ff.

<sup>41</sup> *REA* L. 232 ff., *Rev. Hist. Droit*, XXVII. 579 ff.; cf.

*REG* LXI. xv f., *BCH* LXXIII. 260.

<sup>42</sup> *Imp. Caesaris Augusti operum fragmenta*<sup>2</sup>, Turin.

<sup>43</sup> Oxford, 1949.

<sup>44</sup> Paris, 1949.

<sup>45</sup> *CQ* XLIII. 105 ff.

<sup>46</sup> *Mélanges de la Société Toulousaine d'études classiques*, I. 87 ff.;

cf. *REG* LXI. 139 f.

<sup>47</sup> *Journ. Jur. Pap.* II. 9 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 97.

<sup>48</sup> *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 1948.

<sup>49</sup> *Hellenica*, V. 77 ff., VII. 126 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 93.

<sup>50</sup> Basel, 1948.

<sup>51</sup> Bruges, 1949.

<sup>52</sup> *Πολύμων*, IV. 41 ff.

<sup>53</sup> *Nun Chron* 1947, 1 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 98.



below (p. 25). Greek inscriptions play a very minor part in F. de Visscher's *Le régime romain de la noxalité*,<sup>54</sup> and a somewhat larger one in vol. II of R. Taubenschlag's *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri*,<sup>55</sup> which deals with political and administrative law.

Religion is an omnipresent element in Greek life, public and private, and our knowledge of the ancient world is immeasurably enriched by the light thrown by inscriptions on the religious beliefs and practices of the Greeks, as is illustrated on almost every page of this survey. F. Sokolowski examines<sup>56</sup> the nature of the Hellenistic ruler-cult, which, he argues, is not essentially an aberration of the religious sense due to Oriental influence, but a purely Hellenic recognition of the services rendered by the kings to the welfare of their subjects. In his posthumous work, *Lux perpetua*,<sup>57</sup> F. Cumont (to whom a tribute is paid<sup>58</sup> on pp. vii ff.) examines the Greek and Roman conceptions of 'le grand mystère de l'au-delà'. R. Dussaud deals<sup>59</sup> with new occurrences in Phoenician texts of the god Hauron, identified in Egypt with Harmakhis, and comments on G. Posener's view<sup>60</sup> that Hauron was the name given by Syrians under the New Empire to the Sphinx. J. Gray also discusses<sup>61</sup> this Semitic divinity, who makes his last appearance in Delian inscriptions as the god Auronas of Jamnia, seeing in him primarily a healing god akin to Asclepius and Eshmun. O. Eissfeldt compares<sup>62</sup> the monogram of Christ with a Phoenician emblem of Hermes.

From religion we pass to art and architecture. Inscriptions play a minor role<sup>63</sup> in G. Bovini's account of Roman portraiture from Trebonianus Gallus to Probus, and an all-important one in J. Marcadé's fruitful investigations on various sites, undertaken in the preparation of a comprehensive work on Greek sculptors' signatures; he deals<sup>64</sup> fully with the traces at Delos, Tanagra and Oropus of the third-century Athenian bronze-caster Parthenocles, and publishes some results of his researches at Epidauros and Delos (below, pp. 35, 43). R. Martin discusses the evidence for the fourth-century Athenian sculptor Praxias (below, p. 45), and M. Squarciapino's work on the school of Aphrodisias opens<sup>65</sup> with a collection of the signatures of that city's sculptors, found there or elsewhere. Epigraphical as well as architectural evidence, notably that from Delos, is reviewed in O. A. W. Dilke's article<sup>66</sup> on the *cavea* of the Greek theatre, in which some technical terms are interpreted (pp. 130 f.) and special attention is paid to the use of wooden seating (pp. 148 ff.) and to the provision of seats of honour (pp. 165 ff.). O. Weinreich's detailed study of 'Epigramm und Pantomimus' includes<sup>67</sup> re-editions of three Greek epigrams, from Rome, Delphi and Cotiaeum respectively, of which the last two are of doubtful relevance. G. Townsend publishes<sup>68</sup> two fragments of tapestry of the fifth century A.D., now in the Boston Museum, bearing the names Δειόνυσος and Ἀριάδνη.

Following my usual practice, I refer briefly here to inscriptions on earthenware, excluding those appearing in works primarily concerned with ceramics and those mentioned below in their geographical context. K. Peters publishes<sup>69</sup> two Panathenaic amphorae in the Pelizaeus-Museum at Hildesheim, and D. Calabi calls attention<sup>70</sup> to another, discovered at Labranda. J. D. Beazley publishes<sup>71</sup> an Attic lekythos of ca. 470, showing a boy reading a scroll inscribed Ἐρμῆν αἰδῶ and discusses eight other representations on vases of inscribed scrolls; he also gives the first publication<sup>72</sup> of seven Panaetian fragments, of which all but one bear inscriptions, and discusses<sup>73</sup> the 'Rosi krater', an Attic r.f. bell-krater, once in Rome but now lost. A lost r.f. cup by Duris is the subject of a note<sup>74</sup> by M. Robertson, and the 'Amasis potter' of a brief comment<sup>75</sup> by R. M. Cook, while O. A. W. Dilke examines<sup>76</sup> a b.f. vase signed by Sophilos, portraying a sixth-century stadium. To D. von Bothmer we owe a new account<sup>77</sup> of an Attic b.f. neck-amphora of 575-50 B.C., now in Boston, representing the arming of Achilles, to T. B. L. Webster a discussion<sup>78</sup> of an inscribed kalyx-krater in New York, dating from the early fourth century and representing a scene from Attic comedy, and to P. E. Corbett an examination<sup>79</sup> of a r.f. bell-krater of the same period inscribed with the name Leonidas.

<sup>54</sup> Brussels, 1947. <sup>55</sup> Warsaw, 1948; see index, 116.

<sup>56</sup> *Eos*, XLII. 169 ff. <sup>57</sup> Paris, 1949.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. *Syria*, XXVI. 168 ff., *Ant Class* XVIII. 257 ff., *Gnomon*, XXI. 272 ff., *Mitt. D. Arch. Inst.* I. 7 ff., *Acme*, I. 408 ff.

<sup>59</sup> *Syria*, XXV. 168.

<sup>60</sup> *JNE Studies*, IV. 240 ff.

<sup>61</sup> *JNE Studies*, VIII. 27 ff. <sup>62</sup> *ZDPV* LXVII. 163 ff.

<sup>63</sup> *MA* XXXIX. 312, 320. <sup>64</sup> *Mél. Picard*, 688 ff.

<sup>65</sup> *La scuola di Afrodizia* (Rome, 1943), 1 ff.; cf. *REG* LXI. 194.

<sup>66</sup> *BSA* XLIII. 125 ff.

<sup>67</sup> *SB Heidelberg*, 1944-8 (1). 73 ff., 121 f.

<sup>68</sup> *Bull Mus FA* XLVI. 13 ff.

<sup>69</sup> *Jdl* LVII. 143 ff.

<sup>70</sup> *Acme*, I. 389, from *ILN* 15.1.1949.

<sup>71</sup> *AJA* LII. 336 ff.

<sup>72</sup> *JHS* LXVII. 1 ff.

<sup>73</sup> *JHS* LXVIII. 148.

<sup>74</sup> *Bull Mus FA* XLVII. 84 ff.

<sup>75</sup> *CQ* XLII. 25.

<sup>76</sup> *BSA* XLIII. 131.

<sup>77</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII. 104 ff.

<sup>78</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII. 104 ff.

<sup>79</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII. 104 ff.



V. Grace devotes an interesting article<sup>80</sup> to standard pottery containers, their form and their stamps, estimating the number of stamped handles now in collections as approaching 100,000; she also describes<sup>81</sup> fourteen whole Rhodian jars, the largest collection known, once in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, now in the Ringling Museum of Art at Sarasota, Florida. A new amphora in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, is published<sup>82</sup> by Z. Oroszlán. D. M. Robinson's collection of Greek gems includes<sup>83</sup> three inscribed objects—a bronze ring from Boeotia (p. 316), a red sard gem from Athens (p. 322) and a gnostic amulet, also from Athens (pp. 322 f.). C. Bonner publishes<sup>84</sup> a jasper pendant in the Brummer Gallery bearing an eight-lined inscription of the Ophite Gnostics, comments<sup>85</sup> on a magical amulet from the Athenian Agora (*Hesperia*, II. 475 ff.), and supplements<sup>86</sup> J. Keil's recent publication (cf. *JHS* LXVII. 93) of a remarkable copper amulet, probably from S. Russia, now in Vienna. In an article on tomb-groups, probably of the fourth century A.D., from Tyre and Galilee, D. B. Harden publishes<sup>87</sup> a Roman glass bowl from Syria or Palestine, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

The second, greatly enlarged, edition<sup>88</sup> of A. D. Trendall's *Handbook to the Nicholson Museum* in Sydney (cf. *JHS* LXVII. 95) remains practically unchanged so far as Greek inscriptions are concerned.

Two works of outstanding importance deal with the origin and development of the alphabet. D. Diringer's *The Alphabet*,<sup>89</sup> of which a second edition has already been called for, has an even wider scope than the title suggests, for its first eleven chapters deal with non-alphabetic systems of writing, including among others the cuneiform, hieroglyphic, Minoan, Hittite, syllabic and quasi-alphabetic scripts, while the last ten chapters discuss, *inter alia*, the origin of the alphabet, the South Semitic and Canaanite alphabets, the Greek alphabet with its offshoots, the Etruscan, Italic and Latin alphabets. G. R. Driver's invaluable *Semitic Writing from Pictograph to Alphabet*<sup>90</sup> deals in its three main sections with (a) the cuneiform scripts, (b) alphabetic writing, and (c) the origin of the alphabet, with special reference to Phoenicia, Sinai and Egypt, the South Semitic and Ugaritic alphabets, the Greek alphabet (pp. 171 ff.), the names, forms and order of the letters, and the time and place of the invention of alphabetic writing. A. C. Moorhouse's *Writing and the Alphabet* (London, 1946) I have not seen. R. Dussaud criticizes<sup>91</sup> M. Dunand's views, expressed in his *Byblia Grammata*,<sup>92</sup> on the history of the Phoenician script, claiming that 'les scribes giblites méritent certainement qu' on leur attribue l'invention de l'alphabet' (p. 50), and is answered<sup>93</sup> by Dunand. Other valuable work has been done in the study of the Greek alphabet in particular. M. Falkner deals<sup>94</sup> with the early history of the Greek script, a subject discussed<sup>95</sup> also by R. Harder, who regards the Phoenician alphabet as having been taken over as a whole by the Greeks about the beginning of the first millennium B.C., and R. M. Cook's account of Ionia and Greece from 800 to 600 B.C. deals<sup>96</sup> briefly with the Ionian alphabet. R. Carpenter restates,<sup>97</sup> summarily but forcefully, his view of the derivation of the Greek alphabet from the Phoenician in the second half of the eighth century B.C. Harder also examines<sup>98</sup> in detail Greek stoichedon writing, which he renames 'Rottenschrift', and C. Wendel makes some use of inscriptions in his work *Die griechisch-römische Buchbeschreibung*,<sup>99</sup> which has a long note (p. 133) on the origin of the Phoenician alphabet and a description (pp. 18 ff.) of the earliest Greek libraries. L. H. Jeffery has made careful studies of the Corinthian *iota*<sup>100</sup> and the Cretan letter  $\phi$ .<sup>101</sup>

In the forefront of those who have contributed to the study of the Minoan scripts are J. L. Myres and J. Sundwall. The former criticizes<sup>102</sup> the method and conclusions of B. Hrozný's two articles (cf. *JHS* LXVII. 95),<sup>103</sup> and himself suggests<sup>104</sup> an arrangement of

<sup>80</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 175 ff.; cf. *AJA* LII. 381.

<sup>81</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 144 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 94.

<sup>82</sup> *Arch. Értesítő*, VII-IX. 133 ff.

<sup>83</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 305 ff. <sup>84</sup> *Ibid.* 43 ff.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.* 43. <sup>86</sup> *AJA* LIII. 270 ff.

<sup>87</sup> *Iraq*, XI. 156 ff. <sup>88</sup> Sydney, 1948.

<sup>89</sup> London, 1948; cf. *Antiquity*, 1949, 108 ff., *PEQ* 1948, 137 ff., *JRASoc* 1949, 113 f., *JAOS* LXIX. 92 ff., *AJA* LIII. 212 f., *JHS* LXVIII. 156, *Cl Phil* XLIV. 265 ff., *JEA* XXXIV. 129 ff.

<sup>90</sup> London, 1948; cf. *AJA* LIV. 94 ff., *Bibl. Orient.* VII. 7 ff.

<sup>91</sup> *Syria*, XXV. 36 ff.

<sup>92</sup> Beyrout, 1945.

<sup>93</sup> *Syria*, XXVI. 127 ff.

<sup>94</sup> W. Brandenstein, *Frühgeschichte u. Sprachwissenschaft* (Vienna, 1948), 110 ff.; cf. *AJA* LIII. 392.

<sup>95</sup> H. Berve, *Das neue Bild der Antike*, I (1942), 91 ff.

<sup>96</sup> *JHS* LXVI. 89 f.

<sup>97</sup> *Folk Tale, Fiction, and Saga in the Homeric Epics*, 9 ff.

<sup>98</sup> *Jdl* LVIII. 93 ff.

<sup>99</sup> Halle, 1949.

<sup>100</sup> *BSA* XLIII. 201 ff.

<sup>101</sup> *Κρητ. Χρον.* III. 143 ff.

<sup>102</sup> *AJA* LII. 104 ff.

<sup>103</sup> For a French translation see *AJA* LIV. 81 f.

<sup>104</sup> *JHS* LXVI. 1 ff., 129; cf. *AJA* LIV. 77.



the signs of the linear scripts A and B based on their forms and origins in place of Hrozy's system, which follows the alphabetical order of the phonetic equivalents which he attributes to the several signs; Myres also publishes<sup>105</sup> a boustrophedon hieroglyphic inscription on an eight-sided Minoan sealstone in the Ashmolean Museum. Sundwall discusses further the tablets<sup>106</sup> from Hagia Triada and the 'throne- and sceptre-sign'<sup>107</sup> on the Cnosian and Pylian tablets, and attempts<sup>108</sup> to determine the sounds of certain signs of Linear B. A noteworthy article<sup>109</sup> by A. E. Kober summarizes the present state of our knowledge of the Minoan scripts (pictographic, linear, mainland and Cypro-Minoan), indicating necessary corrections and supplements and briefly stating the chief theories advanced; the conclusion reached is that 'any discussion of the possibility of ultimate decipherment is premature' (p. 103). T. B. Jones assigns<sup>110</sup> sound-values to a number of signs on the basis of his belief that the characters of Linear B which agree in form with characters of the Cypriote syllabary have the same phonetic values in both, and suggests a method of determining the sounds of other Minoan signs. N. Platon reviews<sup>111</sup> G. P. Carratelli's work (cf. *JHS* LXVII. 95) and also two contributions of Ktistopoulos to the solution of the problem, and S. Marinatos discusses<sup>112</sup> at some length Hrozy's theories and results. E. Peruzzi deals<sup>113</sup> with 'some incomplete groups from Hagia Triada' and examines the phonetic values of certain Minoan linear signs in an article<sup>114</sup> in which he refers to a fuller treatment in his *\*Aportaciones a la interpretacion de los textos minoicos*.<sup>115</sup> W. T. M. Forbes reads,<sup>116</sup> on the basis of the Cyprian syllabary, the Cretan linear inscription on a vase from Eleusis dating from the thirteenth century B.C., in which he discovers a Greek text. E. Schertel attempts<sup>117</sup> to solve the fascinating riddle of the Phaestus disk, F. Chapouthier publishes<sup>118</sup> a clay 'roundel' from Mallia inscribed in Linear A, A. Xenaki draws attention<sup>119</sup> to sixteen tablets, probably from Cnosus, in the Giamalakis Collection, inscribed in Linear B, and surveys of a more general nature and wider scope are contributed by C. D. Ktistopoulos on 'L'énigme minoenne',<sup>120</sup> G. Klaffenbach on 'Schriftprobleme der Ägäis',<sup>121</sup> and G. E. Mylonas on 'Prehistoric Greek Scripts'.<sup>122</sup> Two articles, entitled 'Ο δίσκος τῆς Φαιστοῦ and Παρατηρήσεις τινές ἐπὶ τῆς μινωϊκῆς γλώσσης', have been submitted in 1947 and 1948 by Ktistopoulos to the Athenian Academy, but are not yet, so far as I know, published.

A new interpretation of the early alphabetic inscriptions from Serabit in the Sinaitic peninsula is proposed<sup>123</sup> by W. F. Albright in the light of the researches of the American expedition which recently investigated the site.<sup>124</sup>

## II. ATTICA

H. A. Thompson reports on the epigraphical results of the American excavation of the Agora in 1947<sup>125</sup> and 1948;<sup>126</sup> in the former year 120 new inscriptions were unearthed, bringing the grand total to 6079, in the latter 35, including some of especial interest. The work of publication proceeds with commendable promptitude and consummate ability, notably in B. D. Meritt's article<sup>127</sup> comprising sixty-four texts, which, with one added by A. G. Woodhead, are usefully indexed (pp. 61 ff.). D. M. Robinson publishes<sup>128</sup> a summary of a lecture dealing with some recently discovered Attic sculptures and inscriptions. B. D. Theophrastides gives<sup>129</sup> a brief account of numerous inscribed objects of marble, bronze and earthenware, mostly from Attica, added to the National Museum at Athens in 1930-32, some of which had already been reported, and elsewhere<sup>130</sup> also we learn of recent acquisitions of the National, Epigraphical, Acropolis and Piraeus Museums. In a welcome second edition<sup>131</sup> of J. Kirchner's *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum* G. Klaffenbach leaves the selection practically

<sup>105</sup> *BSA* XLIV. 326 f.

<sup>106</sup> *Acta Ae. Abo.* XV (2), (4).

<sup>107</sup> *Soc. Sci. Fenn. Com. Hum. Litt.* XV (1).

<sup>108</sup> *AJA* LII. 311 ff.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.* 82 ff.

<sup>110</sup> *TAPA* LXXVIII. 430 f.

<sup>111</sup> *Κρητ. Χρον.* I. 201 ff., 450 ff.

<sup>112</sup> *Κρητ. Χρον.* II. 368 ff.

<sup>113</sup> Barcelona, 1948; cf. *Amphurias*, IX-X. 330 ff.

<sup>114</sup> *AJA* LIII. 356 f.

<sup>115</sup> *Würrzb. Jahrb.* III. 334 ff.

<sup>116</sup> *Mél. Picard*, 166 ff.

<sup>117</sup> *Archiv Orient.* XVII. 420 ff.

<sup>118</sup> *Archaeology*, I. 210 ff.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.* 377 ff.

<sup>114</sup> *Sefarad*, IX. 131 ff.

<sup>119</sup> *Κρητ. Χρον.* I. 391 f.

<sup>121</sup> *FuF* XXIV. 193 ff.

<sup>122</sup> *Bull ASOR* CX. 6 ff.

<sup>124</sup> *Bull ASOR* CIX. 5 ff., Syria, XXVI. 160, *Actes du XXI Congr. Intern. des Orientalistes*, 100 ff.

<sup>125</sup> *Hesperia* XVII. 182, 191, 195 ff., *AJA* LIII. 200; cf. *AJA* LI. 271, LII. 378 f., *Hesperia*, XVIII. 103, *BCH* LXXI-II. 431 f.

<sup>126</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII. 217, 222 f., *AJA* LII. 525 f.; cf. *JHS* LXVII. 36.

<sup>127</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 1 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 105 ff.

<sup>128</sup> *AJA* LII. 380 f.

<sup>129</sup> *AE* 1939-41, ἀρχ. χρον. 1 ff.; cf. 1942-4, ἀρχ. χρον.

49.

<sup>130</sup> *BCH* LXXI-II. 389 f., 425 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 104, 116, *Πολιτικόν*, III. 154, 1 ff.

<sup>131</sup> Berlin, 1948; cf. *REG* LXII. 101, *JHS* LXX. 89.



unaltered (no. 111 is added and the former no. 123 omitted), but adjusts the order in accordance with chronological requirements and makes important bibliographical additions. To H. Pope we owe a useful, though admittedly incomplete, list<sup>132</sup> of foreigners named in Attic inscriptions, arranged under 241 ethnics; each entry is accompanied by reference and, so far as possible, by date. In an article on the Altar of the Twelve Gods M. Crosby examines<sup>133</sup> the epigraphical evidence for their cult,—*IG* I<sup>2</sup>. 310. 64, II<sup>2</sup>. 2640 (which she assigns to the fifth century), II<sup>2</sup>. 30, 112, 114, 2790, 4564, 5065. N. I. Pantazopoulos deals,<sup>134</sup> in the light of recent discoveries, with the sources for the Attic law of corporations, summing up his findings in the political, social and religious spheres, and W. S. Ferguson adds<sup>135</sup> three supplements to his essay on the Attic orgeons (*Harv. Theol. Rev.* XXXVII. 61 ff.). A work of outstanding importance for chronology is that of W. K. Pritchett and O. Neugebauer, *The Calendars of Athens*,<sup>136</sup> in which, starting from the investigation of double dates, the authors maintain the correctness of Aristotle's statement (*Ἀθ. Π.* XLIII. 2) about the rigidity of the prytany-calendar, and that not only for his own day, but throughout the fifth, fourth and third centuries; after stating the facts and problems of the Attic calendar (ch. I), they deal successively with the periods of the ten, twelve and thirteen tribes (ch. II-V), ending with an examination of the fifth-century prytany-calendar (ch. VI). A list of inscriptions cited (pp. 111 ff.) indicates by an asterisk those in which a new reading or restoration is proposed. Pritchett also discusses<sup>137</sup> the evidence for dates preserved in terms of the Athenian calendar and of some other local calendar, and studies 'the history of the particular schematic lunar calendar which has come to be associated with the Athenian civil calendar' (p. 235), referring to W. B. Dinsmoor's tables (*\*PAPS* LXXX. 95 ff.) for equating Julian dates with days in the Athenian civil calendar from the time of Solon to 100 B.C.

[*IG* I<sup>2</sup>.] The number of ostraca used in fifth-century ὄστρακοφορία grows rapidly; all will be published shortly by E. Vanderpool, A. E. Raubitschek and R. S. Young. In an interesting survey<sup>138</sup> Raubitschek gives their total number as 1502, of which 1280 are from American excavations; no fewer than 535 bear the name of Themistocles. Vanderpool devotes an article<sup>139</sup> to some ostraca naming twenty-two men almost or wholly unknown, examines (pp. 405 ff.) a group of sherds bearing names but probably not of the same nature, and gives (pp. 408 ff.) a list of the names and numbers of 'political' ostraca known by the close of 1946. In 1947 further 524 came to light<sup>140</sup> in the valley between the Acropolis and the Hill of the Nymphs, including a single group of 491. Special interest is evoked by the abusive metrical inscription on a sherd given against Xanthippus, Pericles' father; this is discussed by Raubitschek,<sup>141</sup> O. Broneer,<sup>142</sup> and E. Schweigert,<sup>143</sup> each of whom seeks to determine the sense of the puzzling terms ἀλειπερόν and πρυτανεῖον (or πρυτάνειον). Among recent ceramic finds H. R. Immerwahr publishes<sup>144</sup> a r.f. cup by Duris showing a wine-cellar and inscribed τρικτύλος (referring to price rather than to capacity) together with the inscriptions on a small r.f. kylix attributed to Duris, now in the Fogg Museum, and M. T. Mitsos<sup>145</sup> two sixth-century sherds found near the Olympieum, one of which records the visit of a Cyzicene.

New inscriptions are few in number and mostly of moderate interest. L. H. Jeffery publishes<sup>146</sup> thirty-two fragments belonging probably to two closely related documents of ca. 510-480 B.C., regulating offerings made in the City Eleusinion; twenty-eight of these, all very fragmentary, were found in the Agora excavations, and three others are *IG* I<sup>2</sup>. 838-9 (here re-edited on pp. 95 ff.) and I<sup>1</sup>. 529. The history of Athenian sacred law is traced back (pp. 106 ff.) from 399 to the time before the Persian sack of Athens, through three periods represented respectively by (a) *IG* I<sup>2</sup>. 845, II<sup>2</sup>. 1357a, b, and Agora fragments, (b) *IG* I<sup>2</sup>. 843-4 and Agora fragments, and (c) *IG* I<sup>2</sup>. 840, 842. B. D. Meritt edits<sup>147</sup> three fragments, one of a sixth-century metrical epitaph, the second of a fifth-century votive, the third of a sculptor's signature of ca. 403 B.C., and M. Lang<sup>148</sup> a drum-shaped t.c. well-head, also from the Agora, with a

<sup>132</sup> *Foreigners in Attic Inscriptions*, Philadelphia, 1947.

<sup>133</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 101 f.; cf. *Cl Phil* XLIV. 205.

<sup>134</sup> *Πολιτισμὸς*, III. 97 ff.; cf. *AJA* LIV. 77.

<sup>135</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 130 ff.

<sup>136</sup> *Harvard U.P.*, 1947; cf. *REG* LXII. 100, *Gnomon*, XXI. 129 ff., *AJP* LXX. 422 ff., *Archaeology*, I. 228, *JHS* LXVIII. 165 f., *CR* LXIII. 120 ff., *BCH* LXXIII. 495 ff.

<sup>137</sup> *Cl Phil* XLII. 235 ff.

<sup>138</sup> *Archaeology*, I. 79 ff.

<sup>139</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 394 ff.

<sup>140</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 185 ff.; cf. *AJA* LI. 271, *JHS* LXVI. 109, *BCH* LXXI-II. 432.

<sup>141</sup> *AJA* LI. 257 ff.; cf. *Archaeology*, I. 80, *REG* LXII. 101 f.

<sup>142</sup> *AJA* LII. 341 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 102.

<sup>143</sup> *AJA* LIII. 266 ff. <sup>144</sup> *TAPA* LXXIX. 184 ff.

<sup>145</sup> *Hesperia*, XVI. 262 nos. 4, 5.

<sup>146</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 86 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 101.

<sup>147</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 38 ff. nos. 23-4, 36.

<sup>148</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII. 117, 125.



sixth-century graffito ἱσ[θ]μίων πρέα<τ>[ος] and the name Εὐκλῆς. D. M. Robinson publishes <sup>149</sup> two inscriptions of ca. 525 B.C. found in the deme Icaria, one a grave-epigram and the other a dedication to Dionysus and Pythian Apollo. A late fifth-century grave-stele from Athens bears <sup>150</sup> the name Ἡφαιστῆς Χίος.

Vol. X of the *SEG*,<sup>151</sup> edited by J. J. E. Hondius with the collaboration of A. E. Raubitschek, deals with 493 Attic inscriptions prior to 403 B.C., recording fresh discoveries made since 1928, together with additions and corrections (some of them otherwise unpublished) to previously known texts. From it are excluded votive inscriptions from the Acropolis, which, to the number of 393, receive an exhaustive and superbly illustrated publication <sup>152</sup> from Raubitschek with the assistance of L. H. Jeffery. Another work of the first importance is *Athenian Tribute Lists*, II,<sup>153</sup> by B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery and M. F. McGregor, who bring up to date the materials comprised in vol. I, published in 1939, re-editing the texts of the quota- and assessment-lists, together with twenty-five relevant decrees (D 1-25), including five (D 12, 13, 20, 24, 25) derived from literature or papyri, and greatly increasing the *testimonia*. Special attention is paid (pp. 61 ff.) to the decree (D 14) imposing upon the Athenian 'allies' a uniform system of weights, measures and coinage, the terms of which are carefully scrutinized in an article <sup>154</sup> by E. S. G. Robinson, who approaches the question from the numismatic standpoint. In an interesting note <sup>155</sup> on the *proxenia* as an instrument of Athenian imperialism and the corporate responsibility of allied cities for the death of Athenian citizens or πρόξενοι, R. Meiggs examines *IG* I<sup>2</sup>. 27, 28 and 56, proposing a new restoration of 27. 16 f.

Besides the inscriptions already mentioned, the following have received special notice; I denote them by the numbers they bear in *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, adding in brackets those of *SEG* X.

1 (*SEG* 1). M. Guarducci accepts <sup>156</sup> in general Meritt's text of the 'Salaminian Decree' (cf. *JHS* LXV. 66), but restores [κλερόχος] in l. 1, and [καὶ τε]λέν, καθάπερ in l. 2; she dates the decree between 508 and 500 B.C.

19, 20 (*SEG* 7, 68). A. G. Woodhead gives <sup>157</sup> a revised text of the Athenian alliance with Egesta, accepting Raubitschek's assignment to 458-7 B.C. (cf. *JHS* LXVII. 97), and re-edits 20, in which he sees a treaty of ca. 433-2 between Athens and Halicyae on the same terms as that concluded with Egesta.

26 (*SEG* 18). B. D. Meritt offers <sup>158</sup> a new reading and restoration of this alliance with [τοῖς μετέχοσι τῆς] Πυλαίας ἀπα[σι], dating it ca. 458 B.C.

54 (*SEG* 47). A. Wilhelm restores <sup>159</sup> ll. 6-12 of this decree relative to public works.

66 (*SEG* 31). W. P. Wallace, arguing that Athens had no public seal until just before the middle of the fourth century, examines <sup>160</sup> the evidence of ll. 11-18 of the 'Decree of Clinias'.

70 (*SEG* 84). Meritt defends <sup>161</sup> his treatment of this proxeny-decree against the criticism <sup>162</sup> of J. and L. Robert.

76 (*SEG* 110). E. Will seeks <sup>163</sup> to show that ll. 1-46 of the 'Eleusinian Decree' were passed in 448 as part of Pericles' plan for the maintenance of the League, that after the Peace of Nicias Athens took steps, on Lampon's motion, to restore the *status quo ante* and settle the calendar, and that the old text about ἀπαρχαί was added to this ensemble and published in full.

92 (*SEG* 45). Wilhelm suggests <sup>164</sup> new restorations in ll. 3-11 of the second 'Decree of Callias' in place of those adopted by Wade-Gery and Meritt (*Hesperia*, XVI. 283 f.).

95. A. G. Woodhead proposes <sup>165</sup> a restoration of this decree which, if correct, rules out any date prior to the spring of 416 for the ostracism of Hyperbolus.

113 (*SEG* 127). E. Gjerstad comments <sup>166</sup> on this decree in his account of the history of Cyprus in the classical period.

120 (*SEG* 133). Meritt re-edits <sup>167</sup> this fragmentary decree of 408-7 B.C.

<sup>149</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 141 f.

<sup>150</sup> *BCH* LXXI-II. 389.

<sup>151</sup> Leyden, 1949.

<sup>152</sup> *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, Cambridge, Mass., 1949; cf. *CR* LXIV. 144 ff., *JHS* LXX. 97 f.

<sup>153</sup> Princeton, 1949; cf. *Hesperia*, XVII. 31 f., *DLZ* LXXI. 33 ff., *CR* LXIV. 63 ff., *JHS* LXIX. 104 f.

<sup>154</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 320 ff.

<sup>155</sup> *CR* LXIII. 9 ff.

<sup>156</sup> *Riv Fil* LXXVI. 238 ff.

<sup>157</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 58 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 103 f.

<sup>158</sup> *AJP* LXIX. 312 ff.; cf. *CR* LXII. 102.

<sup>159</sup> *JHS* LXVIII. 128 f.

<sup>160</sup> *Phoenix*, III. 70 ff.

<sup>161</sup> *AJP* LXIX. 72 f.

<sup>162</sup> *REG* LVII. 186, 192; cf. *LXII*. 105.

<sup>163</sup> *REG* LXI. 1 ff.; cf. *LXII*. 102 f.

<sup>164</sup> *JHS* LXVIII. 124 ff.

<sup>165</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII. 78 ff.

<sup>166</sup> *SCE* IV (2). 491.

<sup>167</sup> *AJP* LXIX. 70 f.; cf. *REG* LXII. 104 f.



146. Woodhead revises <sup>168</sup> the text of this proxeny-decree, dating it *ca.* 411-10 B.C. and referring it to a citizen of Chalce rather than of Chaleum.

166 (*SEG* 96). Meritt calls attention <sup>169</sup> to the chronological implications of Wilhelm's revision of this fragment (cf. *JHS* LXV. 68).

191 ff. (*SEG* 146 ff.). He adds <sup>170</sup> a fragment to quota-list 33 (now known to be really 37) of 418-7 B.C.

313 (*SEG* 213). He reaffirms <sup>171</sup> his restoration of ll. 173-9, but now regards Dorotheus as secretary of the βουλὴ, not of the ταμίαι.

324 (*SEG* 227). Pritchett and Neugebauer examine <sup>172</sup> these accounts as evidence for the fifth-century prytany-calendar, revising the text of ll. 21-2, 24, 27-46, 58-9.

330 (*SEG* 241). Meritt adds <sup>173</sup> a new fragment to *Hesperia*, III. 47 f., which forms part of this sale-list of the property of the Hermocopidae.

372 (*SEG* 268, 270). In a posthumous article, edited by L. B. Holland, P. H. Davis discusses <sup>174</sup> the Erechtheum building-record and proposes a restoration of 372 F.

761 (*SEG* 318). In an article on the Altar of the Twelve Gods M. Crosby comments <sup>175</sup> on the votive epigram on the altar of the younger Pisistratus, which figures <sup>176</sup> also among T. J. Cadoux's *testimonia* for the early Attic archons (see below, *SEG* 352).

838-40, 842-5 (*SEG* 346-8). For L. H. Jeffery's treatment of these *fasti sacri* see above (p. 25), as also for *IG* I<sup>1</sup>. 529, omitted from *IG* I<sup>2</sup>.

879 (*SEG* 368a), 880. These stones are discussed <sup>177</sup> by O. A. W. Dilke in his essay on the *cavea* of the Greek theatre.

923 (*SEG* 400a). A. A. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios deals <sup>178</sup> with this text in connexion with the sanctuary of Μήτηρ (below, p. 31).

941 (*SEG* 412). Meritt re-edits <sup>179</sup> this casualty-list of *ca.* 450 B.C.

*SEG* 38. F. Sokolowski discusses <sup>180</sup> the *lex sacra* from Paeania, agreeing with Peek's interpretation of τῆιδε as a local adverb, explaining the appearance of the priestess of Hecate, and claiming that the festivals named in the *lex* were public and of special interest to the authorities of the deme.

*SEG* 64. In a supplement to his essay on the Attic orgeons (cf. *JHS* LXV. 61) W. S. Ferguson deals <sup>181</sup> in detail with the decree relative to the cult of Bendis, of which he offers a restored text.

*SEG* 319. M. Crosby's article on the Altar of the Twelve Gods includes <sup>182</sup> an examination of Leagros' dedication to them.

*SEG* 352. She also deals <sup>183</sup> with the archon-list, assigning 522-1 to Pisistratus: the list is also carefully considered <sup>184</sup> in T. J. Cadoux's valuable work on the archons from 682 to 481 B.C.

*SEG* 461. E. Vanderpool, G. P. Stevens and D. M. Robinson re-edit <sup>185</sup> the epigram of the warrior Croesus (cf. *JHS* LXVII. 96), found at Keratea, date it *ca.* 540, and discuss its connexion with the Anavyssos kouros and that in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

*SEG* 463. G. D. Androutsopoulos reports <sup>186</sup> the discovery at Marathon of this archaic epitaph.

[*IG* II<sup>2</sup>.] Of new inscriptions from the Agora later than 403 B.C. several call for special mention. A. G. Woodhead edits <sup>187</sup> a mutilated decree of *ca.* 394 granting προξενία and εὐεργεσία to some Ialysians and referring to a stele destroyed ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα]. W. S. Ferguson deals <sup>188</sup> fully with a fragmentary decree of the tribe Acamantis, which he restores, dates in the spring of 302 and interprets as relating to Demetrius Poliorcetes, the συνέδριον of the Hellenic League, and the discharge of Athenian soldiers who had fought in the Peloponnesian campaign; J. and L. Robert, while accepting the reference to Demetrius (whose name is not preserved)

<sup>168</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 57 f.; cf. *REG* LXII. 103 f.

<sup>169</sup> *AJP* LXIX. 69 f.; cf. *REG* LXII. 104 f.

<sup>170</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 31 f.; cf. *ATL* II. 33.

<sup>171</sup> *AJP* LXIX. 70; cf. *REG* LXII. 104 f.

<sup>172</sup> *The Calendars of Athens*, 95 ff.

<sup>173</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 34 f.; cf. *REG* LXII. 105 ff.

<sup>174</sup> *AJA* LII. 485 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 104.

<sup>175</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 100 n. 52.

<sup>176</sup> *JHS* LXVIII. 70 no. 3.

<sup>177</sup> *BSA* XLIII. 182 f.

<sup>178</sup> *Πολύμω*, III, 95; cf. *AJA* LIV. 75.

<sup>179</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 45 f.

<sup>180</sup> *Eos*, XLIII. 143 ff.

<sup>181</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 131 ff.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.* 83. <sup>183</sup> *Ibid.* 100.

<sup>184</sup> *JHS* LXVIII. 71, 77 ff., 109 ff., 122.

<sup>185</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 361 ff.; cf. G. M. A. Richter, *Kouroi*, 193 f.

<sup>186</sup> *Πολύμω*, III. 132 no. 7.

<sup>187</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 54 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 103 f., *BCH* LXXI-II. 432.

<sup>188</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 112 ff.



and the date, criticize <sup>189</sup> Ferguson's method and conclusions, and propose a different restoration, especially in ll. 9-13, which gets rid of the συνέδριον and the release of Greek troops by special concession of the ruler. B. D. Meritt edits <sup>190</sup> a decree of the year of Cydenor (244-3), honouring the σιτώναι of Diomedon's archonship (247-6), which is chronologically valuable as giving the name and deme of the secretary of Cydenor's year, and so leading to a revision (p. 13) of the archon-list for 247-6 to 242-1 B.C. In the light of this discovery Meritt restores (p. 4) the preamble of a decree <sup>191</sup> passed on the same day, dates *Hesperia*, VII. 115, in 244-3, not in 232-1, and shows that this is the preamble of *IG II<sup>2</sup>*. 766, to which he also assigns *Hesperia*, XVI. 158 f., and an unpublished fragment; we thus get (pp. 5 ff.) a far fuller text of this ephobic decree. Two alternative restorations of a mutilated decree <sup>192</sup> of Philoneos' year (246-5) are offered (pp. 7 ff.), and an apparent confusion in the secretary-cycle is avoided by reading Ὑπ[ωρειεύς in place of Ὑβ[άδης as the secretary's demotic. W. K. Pritchett publishes <sup>193</sup> a list of the ἐφηβοί of the tribe Oineis, which he dates ca. 330 B.C., H. A. Thompson <sup>194</sup> the inscribed base of a statue of the philosopher Carneades erected in the Stoa of Attalus by two of his pupils, Attalus and Ariarathes, subsequently Kings of Pergamum and Cappadocia respectively, who call themselves simply demesmen of Sypalettus, and A. E. Raubitschek <sup>195</sup> the base of a herm from the Eleusinion by which Appius Saufeius honoured the Epicurean Phaedrus, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ [καθ]ηγητήν. Meritt also publishes <sup>196</sup> for the first time portions of eleven decrees (nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7-10, 12-14; no. 9 is specially noteworthy), a mutilated treasure-list (no. 16), three boundary-stones (nos. 18, 20, 21; 18, of ca. 400 B.C.), reads [ἱερὸν] Κηφισὸ Γλεωντίδος [φ]ρατρίας, a sculptor's signature (no. 27), nine honorary or votive inscriptions (nos. 26-9, 31-5; in 29 <sup>197</sup> οἱ ἔμποροι honour Antipater, στρατηγῆσαντα τὸ ἐβδ[ομον] ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλείτας καὶ προνοηθέν[τα τῆς] τῶν ἐμπόρων ἀσφαλείας καὶ σω[τηρίας]), and twenty-six epitaphs (nos. 38-49, 51-64); he also corrects or restores known texts in the light of new evidence available and adds fresh fragments to several published stones (see below), and edits <sup>198</sup> a tomb-epigram copied at Athens by Sir George Wheler.

N. M. Verdelis publishes <sup>199</sup> two interesting documents found in 1942 in the Roman Agora,—a letter written after July, A.D. 201, by Septimius Severus and Caracalla to the Πανελλήνιον on learning from the archon that some athletes τοῦ ἀγῶνος καταφρονήσαντες παρέπλευσαν τὰς Ἀθήνας, and the title on a statue-base of Trajan, erected between 97 and 102 by Claudius Atticus as high-priest. E. Vanderpool, tracing Pausanias' route in the Agora, gives <sup>200</sup> the *editio princeps* of an inscription, cut on a bastion of the Acropolis, which helps to identify the Panathenaic Road. To M. T. Mitsos <sup>201</sup> we owe our knowledge of a number of ceramic inscriptions, a grave-stele, a *columella*, a fragment of a fourth-century inventory, and a leaden weight, all found in excavations S. of the Olympieum, as also of two epitaphs (nos. 15, 21) and a tantalizing fragment (no. 22) of a stele inscribed ἐπανορθω[τήν - -] ὑπατον (cf. *IG II<sup>2</sup>*. 4215) in the Epigraphical Museum; he also publishes <sup>202</sup> for the first time an honorary inscription (no. 26) and two epitaphs (nos. 25, 30) in the same Museum, and ten epitaphs from various Athenian sites, T. A. Arvanitopoulou <sup>203</sup> three metrical epitaphs engraved on one stele and a grave-*columella*, and A. A. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios <sup>204</sup> a similar *columella* and a bronze juror's ticket in the Stathatou collection. From Attica come also a tomb-relief in the possession of the Marquess of Londonderry, described <sup>205</sup> by H. Clifford Smith, and a marble throne at Broomhall, Scotland, which, C. Seltman suggests, <sup>206</sup> may have been made for Demetrius Poliorcetes on the occasion of the Pythia of 290 B.C. D. M. Robinson publishes several discoveries made in various parts of Attica,—a relief <sup>207</sup> of 400-350 B.C., found at Cynosarges and now in the Agora Museum, bearing a dedication to Heracles, two fourth-century grave-stones <sup>208</sup> from Paeania (Liopesi), a decree <sup>209</sup> of the deme Icaria honouring its demarch, a fourth-century epitaph <sup>210</sup> from Keratea, confirming the location of Cephale, and three

<sup>189</sup> *REG* LXII. 109 ff.

<sup>190</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 3 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 105 f., *JHS* LXVII. 36, *BCH* LXXI-II. 432.

<sup>191</sup> Pritchett-Meritt, *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, 23 ff.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.* 22.

<sup>193</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 273 ff.

<sup>194</sup> *Archaeology*, II. 130.

<sup>195</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII. 101 f.

<sup>196</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 1 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 105 ff.

<sup>197</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XVI. 209.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.* 289.

<sup>199</sup> *BCH* LXXI-II. 39 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 114.

<sup>200</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII. 134 f.

<sup>201</sup> *Hesperia*, XVI. 262 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 107 f., *AJA* LII. 389.

<sup>202</sup> Πολύμων, IV. 31 ff.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.* 37 ff.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.* 76 ff.

<sup>205</sup> *Country Life*, 1943, 604.

<sup>206</sup> *JHS* LXVII. 22 ff.

<sup>207</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 137 ff.; cf. Πολύμων, III. F', IV. 32 f.

<sup>208</sup> *AJA* LI. 366 ff., LII. 452; cf. *REG* LXII. 115.

<sup>209</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 141 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 116.

<sup>210</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 363 n. 4.



mortgage-stones<sup>211</sup> of the same century found near Sunium, at Anavyssos and at Vari respectively, of which two are in the Agora Museum. N. C. Kotzias edits the latter part of an honorary decree<sup>212</sup> set up in the precinct of Dionysus at Gargettus and a fourth-century dedication<sup>213</sup> and a grave-stele from Lamprae (Koropi). D. Pallas<sup>214</sup> reports a fragmentary Christian inscription from Salamis, M. T. Mitsos<sup>215</sup> an epitaph from Brauron, and G. D. Androutsopoulos<sup>216</sup> a mortgage-record from Marathon, while at Rhamnus new discoveries have been made<sup>217</sup> which still await publication.

B. D. Meritt reports<sup>218</sup> on the copies of Attic inscriptions made by F. Vernon in 1675 and 1676; these include nine new texts (pp. 216 f.), of which no. 8 is an epigram on the base of a statue of a κοσμητής erected by his sons, and better copies of *IG* II<sup>2</sup>. 1967, 3136, 3507, 3531, 6239, and, above all, 1100, which Meritt re-edits in full (pp. 221 ff.). J. Hevelius' copies of Athenian inscriptions (p. 227), one of which is apparently new, are of little value.

Marked progress has been made in the reading, restoration and interpretation of texts previously known, to some of which new fragments have been added. M. T. Mitsos joins<sup>219</sup> 2101 + 2105, 2014 + 2144, 2212 + 2134, 2206 + 2146 (= 2266), and adds one or more fresh fragments to 2120 (from which he excludes frs. *g* and *n*), 2177, 2206 + 2146, and corrects or annotates 5325, 5736, 5871, 5999, 6132, 6154, 6513, 7365, 8137, 8826, 9528a, 9552, 10161a, 10612, 10867, 11167a, 12404, and 12912. As evidence for the cult of the Twelve Gods M. Crosby cites<sup>220</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>. 30, 112, 114, 2790 and 4564, all of the first half of the fourth century, and 2640, which probably dates from the fifth; a seat in the Theatre was reserved for the ἱερεὺς δώδεκα θεῶν (II<sup>2</sup>. 5065). A. Wilhelm examines<sup>221</sup> the evidence for Dionysus Ἐλευθερεὺς in II<sup>2</sup>. 3182, 5022, and restores the epithet in 223. 7 and 410. 39. G. V. Vitucci discusses<sup>222</sup> the evidence, archaeological, literary and epigraphical, for the Country Dionysia, arguing that dramatic contests flourished in the demes independently of the City festivals; he studies the relevant inscriptions for the ten demes where such contests are attested, especially II<sup>2</sup>. 1008, 1011, 1186, 1198, 1200, 1210, 1227, 3024, 3092-3, 3095-8, 3100-1, 3103-4 and 3106-9. In a discussion of the προεδρία in the Athenian Theatre O. A. W. Dilke deals<sup>223</sup> with inscriptions of the fifth and later centuries indicating the occupants of certain seats or blocks. J. H. Oliver reconstructs<sup>224</sup> the *stemma* of two interrelated Athenian families, the Statii of Chollidae (for whom our main evidence is II<sup>2</sup>. 3704) and the Flavii Glauci of Marathon, paying special attention to two poets, Sarapion (a Stoic friend of Plutarch) and T. Flavius Glaucus III, philosopher, rhetor and poet, who flourished A.D. 235-65; the former was the author of the *carmen de officiis medici moralibus*, here (pp. 245 f.) re-edited with an added fragment, and the inscription on the front of the 'Sarapion Monument' (II<sup>2</sup>. 3796 + 3631), here (p. 243) revised, while to the latter Oliver assigns (pp. 248 ff.) II<sup>2</sup>. 3632, 3661-2, 3709, and perhaps 3816.

J. Travlos discusses<sup>225</sup> the topography of Eleusis, and in particular of its gates, in the light of a fourth-century inscription (Kourouniotes, Ἐλευσινιακά, I. 189 ff.). O. W. Reinmuth's detailed study<sup>226</sup> of the relationship of ephebate to citizenship in Attica rests almost wholly on the evidence supplied by ephebic inscriptions. J. H. Oliver examines<sup>227</sup> the appearance in inscriptions of patrons who in the Roman period gave financial aid to Athenian tribes: the earliest case is that of Tiberius Claudius Atticus and Vibullia Alcia ca. A.D. 120 (II<sup>2</sup>. 1073-4 = Dow, *Prytaneis*, 121), and II<sup>2</sup>. 3597 gives further examples. Oliver draws up a list (p. 304) of tribal ἐπώνυμοι known from A.D. 138 to ca. 240. J. A. Notopoulos publishes<sup>228</sup> epigraphical notes on (a) tribal affiliations of foreigners in ephebic lists, (b) names ending in -105 and -15, (c) the rarity of alphabetical order in name-lists, and (d) alphabetic numeral signs; the first of these is criticized<sup>229</sup> by Reinmuth. In a valuable review<sup>230</sup> of E. Groag's two works (cf. *JHS* LXII. 53, LXVII. 92) on Roman Imperial officials in Achaia J. H. Oliver corrects, restores and annotates a number of epigraphical records, the most important of which are noted below.

<sup>211</sup> *AJP* LXIX. 201 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 115, Πολύμων, III. F<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>212</sup> Πολύμων, IV. 10 ff.

<sup>213</sup> Πολύμων, III. 145 ff.

<sup>214</sup> *PAE* 1941-4, 25.

<sup>215</sup> *Hesperia*, XVI. 264; cf. *AJA* LIII. 371.

<sup>216</sup> Πολύμων, III. 133 no. 10.

<sup>217</sup> *CRAI* 1948, 298 ff., *AJA* LII. 528, *JHS* LXVII. 36, Πολύμων, III. F<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>218</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 213 ff.

<sup>219</sup> Πολύμων, IV. 17 ff.

<sup>220</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 101 f.

<sup>221</sup> *Wien. Stud.* LXI-II. 162 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 108.

<sup>222</sup> *Dioniso*, VII. 210 ff., 312 ff.

<sup>223</sup> *BSA* XLIII. 165 f., 178 f., 181 ff.

<sup>224</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 243 ff.

<sup>225</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII. 143 ff.

<sup>226</sup> *TAPA* LXXXVIII. 433 f., LXXIX. 211 ff.

<sup>227</sup> *AJP* LXX. 299 ff., 403.

<sup>228</sup> *AJP* LXIX. 415 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 113 f.

<sup>229</sup> *TAPA* LXXXIX. 231.

<sup>230</sup> *AJP* LXIX. 434 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 114.



To A. E. Raubitschek we owe three specially noteworthy articles. Discussing<sup>231</sup> the family and career of T. Flavius Sophocles of Sunium, he restores, by the aid of II<sup>2</sup>. 3952-4, the dedication of his statue (II<sup>2</sup>. 3552), erected at Eleusis ca. A.D. 75, dates 4749 between A.D. 75 and 100, and 1992 about A.D. 20, restores 4487 and 3274, comments on 3540 and 4457, and traces back the family to the second half of the fourth century B.C. He also adds<sup>232</sup> from epigraphical evidence to our knowledge of Phaedrus (ca. 138-70 B.C.), head of the Epicurean School at Athens in Cicero's time, whose family can be traced at Athens to the end of the third century B.C.; he restores II<sup>2</sup>. 1008. 125, showing that Phaedrus was an ephebe in 119-8, and 3899 (pp. 98 f.), engraved beneath a statue of Phaedrus erected probably by T. Pomponius Atticus, Cicero's *alter ego*, and 3897 (to which a fragment is added), erected by Cicero's friend L. Saufeius, and publishes (pp. 101 f.) a fragment, found in the Agora, of the base of a herm of Phaedrus set up by Appius Saufeius, and 3513, a statue-inscription which describes Q. Caccilius Pomponianus Atticus as ἀ[κουστήν [τοῦ Φαίδρου]. In an essay<sup>233</sup> on 'Commodus and Athens' Raubitschek unites II<sup>2</sup>. 1796, 1800 and a new fragment, and re-edits ll. 1-12 of this prytany-list of A.D. 186-7 (of which he restores ll. 39, 41) with an opening reference to Commodus naming a hitherto unknown archon; he re-examines (pp. 280 ff.) and improves the texts of the other lists of the same group, viz. IG II<sup>2</sup>. 1792 (dated 187-8 and restored by Oliver in *Hesperia*, XI. 61), *Hesperia*, XI. 58 ff. nos. 25 (dated 188-9) and 27 (of the same date), to which he adds *Hesperia*, IV. 49 f., XI. 57 f. no. 23, IG II<sup>2</sup>. 1807, and a new fragment; nos. 24 and 26 probably belong to the same date. These name Commodus as archon in 188-9 and perhaps as πανηγυριάρχης in 187; later he was archon of the Eumolpidae (II<sup>2</sup>. 1110 = SIG 873, to which a new fragment is added on p. 285), and addressed two letters to the Athenian γερουσία ca. 180-4 (II<sup>2</sup>. 1112), in which Raubitschek restores (pp. 285 f.) the Emperor's title. Of a further letter, written in 187, the prescript is restored (p. 287) from II<sup>2</sup>. 1109, 3412 and three unpublished fragments, while 2771, EM 10006-7 and an Agora fragment belong to a text which mentions a number of high officials, probably envoys to Athens.

In the field of chronology substantial progress can be reported. To the work of Pritchett and Neugebauer I refer above (p. 25). E. Manni re-examines<sup>234</sup> the evidence for the archons of the third century B.C. and draws up tables (pp. 75, 79 f.) of those who held office from 292-1 to 200-199. S. Dow discusses<sup>235</sup> the post-Sullan archons on the basis of II<sup>2</sup>. 1716 (q.v.). J. A. Notopoulos dates<sup>236</sup> the creation of the tribe Hadrianis in A.D. 126-7, connecting it with Hadrian's visit to Athens in autumn 124 and spring 125, and its incorporation in the tribal cycle in 127-8, and the same scholar devotes a detailed article<sup>237</sup> to the operation of Ferguson's Law under the Empire (pp. 2 ff.), the secretaries of the tribal cycles (pp. 9 ff.), the chronology of archons in and after Commodus' reign (pp. 19 ff.) and of other archons (pp. 24 ff.), that of the prytany-lists of 165-6 to 209-10 (pp. 22 f.) and of other inscriptions (pp. 41 ff.), ending with impressive tables showing the tribal cycles, changes proposed in the dates of inscriptions, and new readings and restorations proposed in no fewer than thirty inscriptions. A note of caution is sounded<sup>238</sup> by J. H. Oliver, who also deals<sup>239</sup> with two Athenian archons, Domitius Aristaeus (*Hesperia*, XI. 65) and -tius Arabianus of Marathon (II<sup>2</sup>. 1824; cf. 1078, 1830, *Hesperia*, XI. 67).

In addition to those already mentioned, the following inscriptions in IG II<sup>2</sup> call for notice.

10 (GHI 100). A new fragment of this important historical document, found<sup>240</sup> in Aegina, is in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens.

20 (GHI 109). E. Gjerstad discusses<sup>241</sup> this decree in his account of Cyprus.

32, 38. In his inquiry into the corporate responsibility of allied cities for the death of Athenian citizens and πρόξενοι R. Meiggs examines<sup>242</sup> 32. 9-14 and 38. 1-5 (SEG X. 99).

133 (SIG 199). In l. 23 of this decree for a Sestian Wilhelm substitutes<sup>243</sup> τὸν αἰ[ε] στρατηγούντα for τὸν λι[μενόφρουρον?].

141 (GHI 139). Wilhelm comments<sup>244</sup> on ll. 30 ff. of the decree for Strato of Sidon (cf. JHS LXVII. 101), A. Aymard<sup>245</sup> on the unusual phrase τὸν Σιδωνος βασιλέα (l. 11), and

<sup>231</sup> *ÖJh* XXXVII, Beibl. 35 ff.

<sup>232</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII. 96 ff.

<sup>233</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 279 ff.; cf. XVIII. 21

<sup>234</sup> *Rendic. Lincei*, IV (1949), 67 ff.

<sup>235</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 116 ff.

<sup>236</sup> *TAPA* LXXVII. 53 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 113.

<sup>237</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII. 1 ff.

<sup>238</sup> *Cl Phil* XLIV. 202.

<sup>239</sup> *SCE* IV (2). 493.

<sup>240</sup> *Wien Anz* 1947, 196 f.; cf. *REG* LXII. 108.

<sup>241</sup> *Symb. Oslo*. XXVII. 30.

<sup>242</sup> *REA* L. 236 f.

<sup>243</sup> *AJP* LXX. 305 ff. n. 15.

<sup>244</sup> *Πολέμων*, III. F<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>245</sup> *CR* LXIII. 10, 12.



W. P. Wallace <sup>246</sup> on the σύμβολα (l. 19) designed to facilitate diplomatic relations between Athens and the Sidonian king.

204 (SIG 204). Wallace claims <sup>247</sup> that this decree *de cippis terminalibus* contains (l. 40) the earliest indubitable reference to the public seal of Athens.

223 (SIG 227). Wilhelm restores <sup>248</sup> [Ἐλευθερέως] in B l. 7.

236 (GHI 177). I. Calabi discusses <sup>249</sup> the nature of this pact with Philip II, restoring in ll. 3 f. ἐν τοῖς ὄρκοις in place of ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ or τῇ συμμαχίᾳ.

304, 604. M. Mitsos unites <sup>250</sup> these two fragments.

410 (SIG 289). Wilhelm restores <sup>251</sup> in ll. 2-3 καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν καὶ οἱ δέκα ἱεροποιοί, and in ll. 39-40 Διονύσο[υ τοῦ Ἐλευθερέως], where the epithet was deliberately erased, probably on the defection of Eleutherae.

604. See 304.

766. For Meritt's re-edition of this ephebic decree see above (p. 28).

915. See below under *Prytaneis*, 40.

941. Wilhelm assigns <sup>252</sup> this to a Cean inscription (IG XII (5). 596).

977. See below, p. 33.

978. A newly found prytany-decree helps to restore <sup>253</sup> this honorary decree.

989. See below, p. 33.

1004. See below, p. 33.

1006. A new fragment from the Agora enables Meritt to re-edit <sup>254</sup> ll. 88-117 of this ephebic decree and list.

1013. M. Crosby publishes <sup>255</sup> a fruit measure from the Agora such as is described in ll. 18-29, 63-7 of this regulation *de mensuris et ponderibus*.

1073-4. J. H. Oliver revises <sup>256</sup> the text of ll. 2-26 of this decree (Dow, *Prytaneis*, 121) for Tiberius Claudius Atticus and Vibullia Alcia, and thinks that ll. 12 ff. record the earliest endowment to relieve a tribe of the expenses of its πρυτανεία.

1100. See above, p. 29.

1126 (SIG 145). G. Daux calls attention <sup>257</sup> to his corrections <sup>258</sup> in ll. 4, 14 of this Amphictionic law, and in ll. 9-10 restores δμνυμι τῶν γεγραμμένων and ἄλλο ἤ.

1130. On this Cretan decree (*ICret.* II. xxx. 3\*) see the comments <sup>259</sup> of H. van Effenterre.

1134 (SIG 704). Wilhelm discusses <sup>260</sup> the text, especially ll. 16 ff., of the Amphictionic decree honouring the Athenian κοινὸν τῶν τεχνιτῶν, of which copies survive from Athens (1134) and Delphi (below, p. 38), and dissents from Daux's strictures on it.

1277 (SIG 1099). A. A. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios tentatively assigns <sup>261</sup> this decree to the temple of Μήτηρ παρὰ τὸ βάραθρον.

1632. J. S. Morrison discusses <sup>262</sup> three passages (ll. 25 ff., 233 ff., 336 ff.) in this navy-list, and examines the meaning of several naval technical terms.

1633-53. In J. Tréheux's essay <sup>263</sup> on Delos under the protectorate of the Amphictions (403-314 B.C.) these *tabulae Amphictionum Deliacorum* supply an important part of the available evidence. J. Coupry points <sup>264</sup> to the mention of a ὑπογραμματεύς of the Athenian Amphictions at Delos in 1635. 175, restores ὑπεγραμμάτευσ δὲ Ναυσικλῆς in 1653. 4, and maintains the existence of this official in the middle and second half of the fourth century B.C.

1672. L. Deubner examines <sup>265</sup> the meaning of ἀνάκτορον and Ἐλευσίνιον, dealing especially with the Eleusinian accounts of 329-8 B.C.

1706. Meritt reads <sup>266</sup> Ἀζην. for Ἀτην. in l. 73 of this archon-list.

1716. S. Dow combines <sup>267</sup> 1716, re-edited by him in *AJA* XXXVII. 578 ff., with a new fragment from the Agora (cf. *Hesperia*, V. 42), which is of importance for the names and dates of archons from 87-6 to 53-2 B.C.

1766, 1771. Meritt re-edits <sup>268</sup> the heading of the prytany-list 1771, of which fragment a

<sup>246</sup> *Phoenix*, III. 70 ff.

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.* 189 ff.

<sup>249</sup> *RA* V (1935), 205 ff.

<sup>249</sup> *Wien. Stud.* LXI-II. 163.

<sup>249</sup> *Op. cit.* (n. 353), 95, 120, 134.

<sup>250</sup> *Parola del Passato*, III. 258 ff.

<sup>250</sup> *Wien. Stud.* LXI-II. 167 ff.

<sup>251</sup> *Hesperia*, XVI. 264.

<sup>251</sup> *Wien. Stud.* LXI-II. 162 f.

<sup>252</sup> *SB Wien*, CCXXIV (4). 14.

<sup>253</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII. 223.

<sup>254</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 23 ff.

<sup>255</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII. 108 ff.

<sup>256</sup> *AJP* LXX. 299 ff., 403.

<sup>257</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 116 ff.

<sup>258</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 37 f.

<sup>259</sup> *Op. cit.* (n. 353), 95, 120, 134.

<sup>260</sup> *Wien. Stud.* LXI-II. 167 ff.

<sup>261</sup> *Polémion*, III. 96.

<sup>262</sup> *Met. Picard*, 1008 ff.

<sup>263</sup> *Abh Berl* 1945-6, 2.

<sup>264</sup> *REA* XLIX. 78 ff.

<sup>265</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 20 f.

<sup>266</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 116 ff.

<sup>267</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 37 f.

<sup>268</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 37 f.



has been rediscovered in the Agora, and calls attention to Raubitschek's suggested assignment of 1771 to 1766 (*Hesperia*, XII. 62).

2017. A. W. Parsons restores <sup>269</sup> [ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Τ. Φλ. Π]ανταίνου in l. 5 of this ephebic list; for this archon see Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII. 26 f.

2033. O. W. Reinmuth traces <sup>270</sup> the relationship between ephebia and citizenship in Attica with special reference to this list.

2318-25. I know E. Cavaignac's study of the *fasti* of the fifth-century Attic theatre only through the summary <sup>271</sup> of J. and L. Robert.

2327. L. Robert explains <sup>272</sup> the phrase ἐλαβον τὸ κα[νοῦν].

2581. Meritt publishes <sup>273</sup> an early fourth-century ὄρος σήματος, companion-piece of *Hesperia*, VIII. 79, and thinks that these are probably 2581*a*, *b*; a third identical text, hitherto assumed to be 2581*b*, is in Berlin.

2640. M. Crosby dates <sup>274</sup> this epigram in the fifth century.

2686, 2689, 2693, 2723, 2735, 2747. I. A. Meletopoulos' essay on πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει includes <sup>275</sup> an examination of these records and references to other relevant documents, and also of *Hesperia*, X. 54.

2833*a*. Meritt re-edits <sup>276</sup> this prytany-dedication with an added fragment.

2947. W. S. Ferguson comments <sup>277</sup> on this honorary inscription in the supplement to his work on Attic *orgeones*.

3194, 4210. J. H. Oliver, discussing the career of Aemilius Juncus, restores <sup>278</sup> ll. 4, 5 of the archaistic dedication 3194, and refers to 4210 as our main source.

3233. Meritt has rediscovered <sup>279</sup> this stone, copied by Fourmont.

3275. A new fragment of this Claudian inscription has been found <sup>280</sup> at Rhamnus.

3539. In l. 1 of this honorary inscription Meritt suggests <sup>281</sup> Ἀντίπατρον instead of Αἰολίωνα.

3597. J. H. Oliver examines <sup>282</sup> the services rendered to four Attic tribes by Tiberius Claudius Atticus.

3606. G. D. Androutopoulos reports <sup>283</sup> the discovery at Marathon of this hymn celebrating Herodes Atticus' return from exile.

3695. J. H. Oliver gives <sup>284</sup> a fuller *stemma* of Ulpus Eubiotus Leurus.

3793, 3819. A. E. Raubitschek comments <sup>285</sup> on these memorials of the καθηγητής Alexander of Phalerum.

3818. L. Robert deals <sup>286</sup> with the career of the fifth-century Athenian sophist Plutarchus, called in one epigram (4224) μύθων ταμίης σοφιστής, in another (3818) βασιλεὺς λόγων, distinguishing him from the homonymous proconsul praised in *IG* VII. 94-5 and named in an Attic Christian epitaph (*IG* III. 3513).

4059. In l. 6 Oliver restores <sup>287</sup> Κεστίου Λογγ[εῖνου].

4106. In l. 2 he suggests <sup>288</sup> Ἀσ- or Πα[κόνιον].

4157. Raubitschek restores <sup>289</sup> καθηγητήν in l. 3 of this inscription on a statue-base of C. Sulpicius Galba.

4176. Oliver interprets <sup>290</sup> MM- (l. 5) as M(υσίας) M(ακεδονίας) [Ἀ(χαίας)].

4196. He comments <sup>291</sup> on this honorary inscription, to which Meritt has added <sup>292</sup> two new fragments.

4210. See 3194.

4223. L. Robert quotes <sup>293</sup> the epigram in praise of the proconsul Theodorus, who in the reign of Theodosius εὐδικίης ἀγανῆσι σῶσε Πανελλήνων σώματα καὶ πόλιας.

4224. See 3818.

4226. Robert sees <sup>294</sup> in the Probus honoured in this couplet the proconsul Anatolius Petronius Probus, praetorian prefect of Illyria in A.D. 367-75.

<sup>269</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 270.

<sup>270</sup> *TAPA LXXXVIII*. 433 f., *LXXIX*. 211 ff.

<sup>271</sup> *REG* LXI. 146.

<sup>272</sup> *Rev Phil* XVIII. 21 ff. <sup>273</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 35 f.

<sup>274</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 100 n. 55.

<sup>275</sup> *Πολύμων*, IV. 52 ff. <sup>276</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 39.

<sup>277</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 162 f.

<sup>278</sup> *AJP* LXIX. 438 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 114.

<sup>279</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 41 f.; cf. Oliver, *AJP* LXIX. 436.

<sup>280</sup> *JHS* LXVII. 36.

<sup>281</sup> *AJP* LXX. 302.

<sup>282</sup> *AJP* LXIX. 440 f.

<sup>283</sup> *Hellenica*, IV. 95 ff.; cf. 55 ff.

<sup>284</sup> *AJP* LXIX. 436.

<sup>285</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII. 100.

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid.* 438.

<sup>287</sup> *Hellenica*, IV. 22 f., 102 f.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.* 53 ff., 147.

<sup>289</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 41.

<sup>290</sup> *Πολύμων*, III. 130, 131.

<sup>291</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII. 99 f.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.* 435.

<sup>293</sup> *AJP* LXIX. 436.

<sup>294</sup> *Hesperia*, XVI. 174 f.



4321. Meritt gives <sup>295</sup> a fuller text of this votive epigram, based on Wheeler's copy.  
 4471, 4472 + 4495. M. T. Mitsos joins <sup>296</sup> 4472 and 4495, and so is enabled to complete 4471.  
 4511. Oliver identifies <sup>297</sup> [L]upus and Proc[ulus] (l. 10).  
 4546. G. Bakalakis discusses <sup>298</sup> this basis as a work of art.  
 4962 (SIG 1040). S. Eitrem illustrates <sup>299</sup> this *lex sacra* from papyri and from inscriptions of Epidaurus (IG IV<sup>2</sup>. 424-5) and of Gythium (IG V (1). 1179).  
 5659, 9941. Mitsos unites <sup>300</sup> these portions of an epitaph.  
 7466, 11119. Androutopoulos records <sup>301</sup> the finding of these epitaphs at Marathon.  
 9531. Meritt revises <sup>302</sup> this text, rediscovered in the Agora.  
 9941. See 5659.  
 10097. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios corrects <sup>303</sup> the reading of this epitaph.  
 10258. M. N. Tod substitutes <sup>304</sup> [ἐγ(οῦ) Μυρί]νούνης for [Σελί]νούνης in this epitaph of an Athenian citizen.  
 11119. See 7466.  
 11120. L. Robert discusses <sup>305</sup> the four epigrams on the grave of a proconsul, Democrates, stressing his δίκη, and Oliver points out <sup>306</sup> that he was not a native Athenian.  
 12268, 12376. Mitsos unites <sup>307</sup> these fragments of an epitaph.  
 12449. Robert re-edits <sup>308</sup> this gladiator's epitaph, which is really Eretrian (IG XII (9). 860).

13136. G. Bakalakis examines <sup>309</sup> this tombstone as a work of art.

IG III. 3513. See IG II<sup>2</sup>. 3818.

Some other inscriptions, not included in IG II<sup>2</sup>, call for mention. M. Guarducci studies <sup>310</sup> the history of the Salaminian γένος on the basis of the documents published by W. S. Ferguson in *Hesperia*, VII. 1 ff. Meritt dates <sup>311</sup> *Hesperia*, VII. 115, a fragment of IG II<sup>2</sup>. 766 (q.v.), in 244-3 B.C. A. Wilhelm, discussing an Athenian outpost in the Hellespont, studies <sup>312</sup> the inscribed base of a statue of Chabrias (*Hesperia*, IX. 314 ff.) and his campaign in the spring of 375, restores in the second crown [ἐν Ἡφαιστία] and in the third [οἱ στρατιώται οἱ ἐν τῷ Αἰγανῶντι τῷ [ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ] σ[υμμά]χ[οι] [ἐσά]μ[ε]νοι. Robert examines <sup>313</sup> the decree for Adimantus of Lampsacus (*Hesperia*, IX. 348 ff.), and in l. 12 substitutes ἐν Ἰσθμῶις for τὸ ἐν Ἰσθμῶι, and the same decree is discussed <sup>314</sup> by W. S. Ferguson. For *Hesperia*, X. 54 see IG II<sup>2</sup>. 2686. A. Aymard, dealing <sup>315</sup> with Toulouse in Roman times, treats *Hesperia*, X. 72 ff. (cf. *JHS* LXV. 71), a dossier relating to Q. Trebellius Rufus of Tolosa. In the light of a newly found decree Meritt restores <sup>316</sup> a formula in ll. 27-8 of *Hesperia*, X. 282 f. (= IG II<sup>2</sup>. 977, Dow, *Prytaneis*, 88). Ferguson accepts <sup>317</sup> a restoration proposed by Meritt in the sacrificial regulation of two cult-groups (*Hesperia*, XI. 282 ff.). Meritt substitutes <sup>318</sup> οὗ ἂν εὐκαιρον ᾗ for ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ in *Hesperia*, XIII. 258, *Prytaneis*, 91, 93 (= IG II<sup>2</sup>. 1004. 17) and 96. A. W. Parsons discusses <sup>319</sup> the dedication of the Library of T. Flavius Pantaenus (*Hesperia*, XV. 233), a member of a philosophic family, and dates it between A.D. 98 and 102. Meritt assigns to IG II<sup>2</sup>. 766 (q.v.) a fragment published in *Hesperia*, XVI. 158 f.; he also adds <sup>320</sup> a new fragment to a prytany decree (*Prytaneis*, 40), of which IG II<sup>2</sup>. 915 forms part, and re-edits the whole text, restores <sup>321</sup> ll. 19-20 of *Prytaneis*, 88, and alters the restoration of 95, ll. 8-9, and 96, ll. 38-9 (= IG II<sup>2</sup>. 989. 20-1). He further revises <sup>322</sup> the preamble of a decree published by Pritchett and himself (*Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, 25), suggests alternative restorations of a decree of 246-5 B.C. (*ibid.* 22), and modifies <sup>323</sup> the restoration of ll. 7-9 of a decree published by W. Peek (*Kerameikos*, III. 4). W. S. Ferguson doubts <sup>324</sup> Wilhelm's restoration (cf. *JHS* LXVII. 105) of a decree (*AM* LXVI. 221 ff.) for Demetrius ὁ μέγας and his

<sup>295</sup> *Hesperia*, XVI. 287 ff.; cf. *AJA* LII. 389, *REG* LXII. 108 f.

<sup>296</sup> *Hesperia*, XVI. 264.

<sup>297</sup> *AJP* LXIX. 435.

<sup>298</sup> *Ελληνικά ἀμφίγλυφα*, 63 f.

<sup>299</sup> *Symb. Oslo*. XXVI. 173 ff.

<sup>300</sup> *Hesperia*, XVI. 265.

<sup>301</sup> *Πολύμνη*, III. 133, γ'.

<sup>302</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 49.

<sup>303</sup> *Πολύμνη*, III. 16'.

<sup>304</sup> *AJP* LXX. 113.

<sup>305</sup> *Hellenica*, IV. 21 f., 146 f.

<sup>306</sup> *AJP* LXIX. 440.

<sup>307</sup> *Hesperia*, XVI. 265.

<sup>308</sup> *Hellenica*, III. 115 f.; cf. *Rev Phil* XVIII. 47 f.

<sup>309</sup> *Ελληνικά ἀμφίγλυφα*, 57 f.

<sup>310</sup> *Riv Fil* LXXVI. 223 ff.

<sup>311</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 4.

<sup>312</sup> *Wien Anz* 1947, 190 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 108.

<sup>313</sup> *Hellenica*, II. 23 ff.; cf. *JHS* LXVII. 105.

<sup>314</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 127 f., 136.

<sup>315</sup> *Bull. Soc. Arch. du Midi*, V (1942-5), 513 ff.; cf. *REG* LXI. 150, IG II<sup>2</sup>. 4193.

<sup>316</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 27. <sup>317</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 130 f.

<sup>318</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 27 f.

<sup>319</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 268 ff.

<sup>320</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 14 ff.

<sup>321</sup> *Ibid.* 27 f.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid.* 4, 8 ff.

<sup>323</sup> *Ibid.* 27.

<sup>324</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 116; cf. *REG* LXI. 147 f., LXII.

109 ff.



interpretation of μέγας as 'big', not 'great', and comments <sup>325</sup> on an orgeonic decree (*ibid.* 228 ff.). H. W. Parke discusses <sup>326</sup> the terms of the oath purporting to have been sworn by the Athenians on the eve of Plataea, and G. Daux <sup>327</sup> and J. and L. Robert <sup>328</sup> draw attention to the fact that in editing this text (*GHI* 204) M. N. Tod overlooked Daux's correction of ταξιλοχον to ταξίαρχον in l. 25.

### III. THE PELOPONNESE

[*IG* IV.] L. Robert discusses <sup>329</sup> fully an epigram of AEGINA (*IG* IV. 53), inscribed beneath a statue of Pan which adorned the Μουσείον of Ampelius, proconsul of Achaëa in A.D. 359, and compares other epigrams claiming that certain gods or animals had deserted their normal haunts for buildings or extolling the justice of high officials.

M. T. Mitsos publishes <sup>330</sup> a new epitaph from the Isthmus. At CORINTH several inscribed theatre-seats have come to light. <sup>331</sup> A. N. Stillwell's account <sup>332</sup> of the Potters' Quarter includes a bronze bowl dedicated to Aphrodite (pp. 23, 115), an inscribed strigil (p. 119) and a number of inscribed moulds (pp. 84, 94, 98 ff., 102, 104 ff.) and vases (pp. 12, 21, 23, 29). O. Broneer <sup>333</sup> and S. S. Weinberg <sup>334</sup> publish some pottery with incised or painted texts and four stamped amphora-handles from the S. Stoa, and Weinberg describes <sup>335</sup> four loom-weights of the fourth and third centuries B.C., while elsewhere <sup>336</sup> finds of pre-Roman tiles stamped ἐπὶ Ζηνόλα and of inscribed vases are reported. L. Robert throws light <sup>337</sup> on the puzzling abbreviations used in a Corinthian name-list (*Corinth*, VIII (1). 11), and L. H. Jeffery examines <sup>338</sup> the use of the straight iota in Corinthian local inscriptions found in Corinth itself or elsewhere (Calydon, Delphi, Dodona), and suggests that 'whereas the straight iota was undoubtedly used during the sixth century by various states whose alphabets were kindred to that of Corinth, it did not appear in Corinthian epichoric until the beginning of the fifth century B.C.' (p. 208). M. Guarducci appeals <sup>339</sup> to the famous archaic drachma-dedication from Perachora (*SEG* XI. 223) in her article on the tripods, lebetes and obols of Gortynian inscriptions.

A. K. Orlandos reports <sup>340</sup> the finding of a series of masons' marks on stones of the βουλευτήριον at Sicyon. The sole extant decree of Phlius I mention below (p. 42). Near Nemea G. D. Androutsopoulos has discovered <sup>341</sup> an archaic statue-base with a boustrophedon inscription in the Corinthian script, including the sculptor's signature [Μικκ?]ιάδεξ. M. T. Mitsos edits <sup>342</sup> five new inscriptions of Cleonae,—three epitaphs, two contiguous stones from an exedra bearing the names of the Emperors L. Septimius Severus and his son M. Aurelius Antoninus, and a fragment of an Argive honorary decree; he also unites <sup>343</sup> *IG* IV. 532 and 537 from the Heraeum, restores <sup>344</sup> the decree *IG* IV. 498, which he assigns not to Mycenae but to Argos, and publishes <sup>345</sup> a dedication by συμπόται to Artemis Ὠραία from the Artemision between Nemea and Argos, and an interesting agonistic record <sup>346</sup> from ARGOS of victories won in the latter part of the third century B.C. by a runner who was, *inter alia*, five times victorious in the δίαυλος at the Isthmia. B. D. Meritt extracts <sup>347</sup> from Vernon's diary a dedication copied at Argos in 1675. W. Vollgraff makes a notable contribution to Argive epigraphy in his revision and exhaustive discussion <sup>348</sup> of the famous document (*SIG* 56 = *GHI* 33) recording the intervention of Argos between her two Cretan colonies, Cnosus and Tylissus; he also examines the fragment of the same document found at Tylissus (*ICret* I, pp. 307 ff.). L. Robert corrects and interprets <sup>349</sup> a late Argive epigram praising the justice of Callippinus, a fourth-century governor of Achaëa, and S. Eitrem independently suggests <sup>350</sup> a similar change of punctuation and sense, while R. Paribeni proposes <sup>351</sup> a new restoration of an inscription found in the Argive theatre and relating the reconstruction of some building

<sup>325</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 163.

<sup>326</sup> *Hermathena*, LXXII. 82 f., 107 ff.

<sup>327</sup> *AJP* LXX. 189. <sup>328</sup> *REG* LXI. 115 f.

<sup>329</sup> *Hellenica*, IV. 5 ff., 147; cf. *REG* LXII. 116.

<sup>330</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII. 77.

<sup>331</sup> *Ibid.* 153, *AJA* LIII. 147.

<sup>332</sup> *Corinth*, XV (1), Princeton, 1948.

<sup>333</sup> *Hesperia*, XVI. 239 f.; cf. *REG* LXII. 94.

<sup>334</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII. 151 f.

<sup>335</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 238 f.

<sup>336</sup> *BCH* LXXI-II. 308, *JHS* LXVI. 113, *Hesperia*, XVII.

<sup>337</sup> *AJA* LI. 272, LII. 526.

<sup>338</sup> *Hellenica*, V. 12 f.

<sup>339</sup> *BSA* XLIII. 201 ff.

<sup>340</sup> *Riv Fil* LXXII-III. 175 f.

<sup>341</sup> *PAE* 1941-4. 57.

<sup>342</sup> *Πολύμικτον*, IV. 73 ff.

<sup>343</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII. 75 ff.

<sup>344</sup> *Ibid.* 74.

<sup>345</sup> *Ibid.* 75.

<sup>346</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 214 f.

<sup>347</sup> *Verhandeling der K. Nederl. Akad. N.S.* LI (2); cf. *REG* LXII. 116 f.

<sup>348</sup> *Hellenica*, IV. 138 ff.

<sup>349</sup> *Symb. Oslo* XXVII. 146.

<sup>350</sup> *Dioniso*, X. 314 ff.; cf. *REG* LXI. 152.



destroyed by fire (*BCH* LXVIII-IX. 397 ff.). At Oenoe, on the road from Argos to Mantinea, Mitsos has found a fifth-century boundary-stone.<sup>352</sup> H. van Effenterre comments<sup>353</sup> on the historical value of a decree of Mycenae for Protimus of Gortyn (*IG* IV. 497) and of a list, found at Hermione, of soldiers from western Crete sent to aid the Achaeans (*ibid.* 729). Wilhelm examines and restores<sup>354</sup> the two copies—one from Hermione (*AM* LIX. 47 ff.), the other from Epidaurus (*IG* IV<sup>2</sup>. 75)—of the frontier-arbitration between those states; his main conclusion is summarized and challenged<sup>355</sup> by L. Robert, who will discuss this and other boundary-demarcations in a forthcoming work. Robert also interprets<sup>356</sup> a late epigram of Troezen (*IG* IV. 787) as relating not to the governor of Achaea in A.D. 380, but to a citizen benefactor otherwise unknown. M. Launey gives<sup>357</sup> a greatly improved reading and restoration of a second-century dedication (*IG* IV. 854 = *OGI* 115) set up at Methana in honour of Ptolemy VI Philometor by an eminent Ptolemaic officer, Eirenaeus of Alexandria, known also from inscriptions of Thera and Delos. J. Marcadé, investigating the sculptors' signatures found at the Asclepieum of EPIDAUROS, discusses<sup>358</sup> (1) a group of Argive sculptors of the Hellenistic age, viz. Θεόδωρος Πόρου (whose name replaces the [Ε]θ[έλ]ανδρος Π - - of *IG* IV<sup>2</sup>. 699), Ariston son of Ariston (following an honorary dedication, defaced and previously unread), Toron son of Apellion (whose date and career are fully examined in connexion with a new example of his signature), and Xenophilus son of Strato (on an unpublished base); (2) Timodamus son of Demetrius of Athens (whose name occurs, though hitherto unobserved, in *IG* IV<sup>2</sup>. 630, and must be substituted for Timomachus in 232); (3) the λιθοκόπος Timagorus, now first known, and (4) the inscribed base of a funerary statue, probably of the second century B.C. W. Vollgraff examines and restores<sup>359</sup> an Argive proxeny-decree of the fourth or third century B.C., probably for a doctor (*IG* IV<sup>2</sup>. 69), recently re-edited by M. T. Mitsos (cf. *JHS* LXVII. 106). To Wilhelm's treatment of IV<sup>2</sup>. 75 I refer above; he also makes<sup>360</sup> a fresh suggestion for solving a problem raised by one of Isyllus' poems (IV<sup>2</sup>. 128. 41 ff.).

[*IG* V.] A. M. Woodward makes a contribution<sup>361</sup> of the utmost value to the epigraphy of LACONIA in an article in which, as the result of further study and of the new discoveries of 1924-8, he corrects, restores, dates or annotates more than a hundred Spartan texts, chiefly of the Imperial period, in *IG* V (1); specially noteworthy is his treatment of 3 (pp. 209 ff.), 22 (pp. 211 ff.), 44 (pp. 219 ff.), 75A + 78 + 81 (pp. 228 f.), 105 + 106 (pp. 233 ff.), 111 (pp. 235 ff.), 121 (pp. 239 f.), 164 (pp. 244 f.), 172-5 (pp. 246 ff.), 239 + 253 (pp. 250 f.) and 519 + 582 (pp. 253 f.); in an appendix (pp. 257 ff.) he deals with foreigners as eponymi at Sparta in the second century A.D. B. D. Meritt finds<sup>362</sup> in the diary of Francis Vernon, who travelled in the Peloponnese in 1675, two unpublished inscriptions of Sparta, one of them honouring the Emperor Claudius II, and better copies of *IG* V (1). 151 and 452. The list of contributions to the Peloponnesian War in relation to Cretan history (*IG* V (1). 1 = *GHI* 62) and the possible reference of a Spartan epitaph (*IG* V (1). 723) to the Cretan League of Ὀρειοί are discussed<sup>363</sup> by H. van Effenterre, and H. I. Marrou's essay<sup>364</sup> on the age-classes of the Spartiate youth makes full use of the abundant epigraphical evidence. In connexion with the proconsulship of Ampelius L. Robert examines<sup>365</sup> epigrams from Amyclae and Sparta (*ibid.* 455, 729) and an edict (*BSA* XXVI. 225 ff.), while J. H. Oliver remarks<sup>366</sup> on the date of Paulinus' correctorship recorded in V (1). 538. 13 f. Two dedications to Demeter and Kore, discovered at Kalyvia Sokhas, S.W. of Sparta, are provisionally published<sup>367</sup> by J. M. Cook. T. R. S. Broughton identifies<sup>368</sup> the C. Julius of an inscription from Gythium (*IG* V (1). 1146. 22 = *SIG* 748. 22) with the subsequent dictator, and dates his visit to Gythium as legate of M. Antonius Creticus in 73-2 B.C. S. Eitrem, discussing the oracular function of the Sun, appeals<sup>369</sup> to an inscription of the same city (*IG* V (1). 1179), and O. A. W. Dilke examines<sup>370</sup> the sense of ἱκρία in the regulations of the Caesarea and Euryclea (E. Kornemann, *Neue Dokumente*, 10). An archaic bronze disk dedicated to Πυθαίους at Thornax in Cynuria is

<sup>352</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII. 74.

<sup>353</sup> *La Crète et le monde grec*, 188 n. 2, 221 n. 4 (where 497 should be read in place of 756).

<sup>354</sup> *Wien Anz* 1948, 57 ff.

<sup>355</sup> *REG* LXII. 117.

<sup>356</sup> *Mél. Picard*, 572 ff.

<sup>357</sup> *BCH* LXXIII. 133 ff.

<sup>358</sup> *Mnemosyne*, II (1949), 1 ff.

<sup>359</sup> *Symb. Oslo*, XXVII. 25 ff. For Epidaurus see also *AJA* LIII. 371 f.

<sup>361</sup> *BSA* XLIII. 209 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 117 f.

<sup>362</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 215, 220.

<sup>363</sup> *La Crète et le monde grec*, 38, 120.

<sup>364</sup> *REA* XLVIII. 216 ff.

<sup>365</sup> *Hellenica*, IV. 27 f., 147.

<sup>366</sup> *AJP* LXIX. 440.

<sup>367</sup> *JHS* LXVII. 39.

<sup>368</sup> *TAPA* LXXIX. 63 ff. (where C. Gallius is written C. Gellius).

<sup>369</sup> *Symb. Oslo*, XXVI. 174 (the inscription is cited as *CIG* 1392).

<sup>370</sup> *BSA* XLIII. 149. For ἱκρία see also *JHS* LI. 287 ff.



edited <sup>371</sup> by T. A. Arvanitopoulou, and a small votive altar from the same region by K. A. Rhomaios. <sup>372</sup> F. de Visscher comments <sup>373</sup> on a passage in the regulations of the mystery-cult at Andania (*IG V* (1). 1390. 75 ff. = *SIG* 736. 75 ff.).

Passing to ARCADIA I note Dilke's use <sup>374</sup> of inscriptions in his discussion of the προεδρία in the theatres at Tegea, Orchomenus and Megalopolis. M. Guarducci publishes <sup>375</sup> a well preserved and interesting Argive decree of the late fourth or early third century B.C., renewing friendship between Argos and Pallantium, recording a successful Argive mission to Polyperchon to request the release of Pallantine prisoners of war, and granting to the Pallantine envoys the titles of πρόξενοι, εὐεργέται, and θεαροδόκοι of Nemean Zeus and Argive Hera; in the commentary the Argive dialect, constitution and calendar receive special attention, as well as the history of Pallantium. No less valuable is a decree of Elatea in Phocis, discovered at Stymphalus and edited <sup>376</sup> by M. T. Mitsos, thanking and honouring the Stymphalians for the hospitality shown to the Elateans in exile, for their effective intervention with the Achaean League and the Romans to secure the return of the Elateans to their home, and for the aid given them in overcoming the difficulties encountered in their re-establishment there. The document, dated about 190-187 B.C., contains important historical information about both Stymphalus and Elatea; the contemporary history of the latter city as here reflected is examined <sup>377</sup> by A. Passerini. H. van Effenterre has a note <sup>378</sup> on the date of a Tegean list (*IG V* (2). 34), probably of mercenaries. Tiles stamped Ἀσκληπιοῦ have come to light <sup>379</sup> in the French excavation at Gortys.

[*IG VI*.] T. J. Dunbabin deals <sup>380</sup> with an early fifth-century document from OLYMPIA (*IG Ol* 22) relating to Megarian exiles settled at Selinus, J. H. Oliver re-edits <sup>381</sup> the distich (*IG Ol* 457) inscribed, with the consent of the Olympic Council, on the monument erected at Olympia by the Athenian poet T. Flavius Glaucus, and L. Robert comments <sup>382</sup> on an epigram of the third or fourth century A.D., in which the Phigaleans celebrate the justice of a provincial governor (*IG Ol* 481). A. C. Chatzes gives <sup>383</sup> a revised copy of, and additional notes on, an archaic *lex sacra* found near Patrae (*AE* 1908, 95 ff.).

#### IV. CENTRAL AND NORTHERN GREECE

[*IG VII*.] Among the inscriptions copied <sup>384</sup> by F. Vernon in 1675 at MEGARA are *IG VII*. 77, 94 and 95; these last two, laudatory epigrams for a certain Plutarchus, are examined <sup>385</sup> by L. Robert, who distinguishes their hero from the Athenian sophist of that name (*IG II*<sup>2</sup>. 3818, 4224) and sees in him a Roman proconsul (perhaps mentioned in *IG III*. 3513) of the reign of Constantius. J. Marcadé publishes <sup>386</sup> the signature of Parthenocles, hitherto unobserved on the base of a portrait group at the Oropian Amphiarum (*AE* 1925, 42 no. 153). O. A. W. Dilke examines <sup>387</sup> the evidence for the προεδρία in the Oropian theatre, and B. D. Theopaneides records <sup>388</sup> the accession to the Athens Museum of a bronze weight from the Amphiarum and of a late grave-relief from Delium.

From BOEOTIA there is more to report. W. K. Pritchett examines <sup>389</sup> the double dating of a proxeny decree of Tanagra (*IG VII*. 517), J. Marcadé re-edits <sup>390</sup> the inscription on a Tanagraean statue-base (*ibid.* 563) signed by Παρθεν[οκλής], and W. M. Calder revises <sup>391</sup> the text of the Christian poem from that site (cf. *JHS* LXVII. 107), which he dates *ca.* A.D. 400 or a little later and ranks 'among the major inscriptional sources for the early history of the Eucharist'; H. G. Blomfield adds <sup>392</sup> some further comments. A. Plassart edits <sup>393</sup> nine proxeny-decrees, whole or fragmentary, found by P. Jamot at Thespieae, together with two honorary inscriptions, one of them for Q. Braetius Sura (cf. *IG IX* (2). 613), who in 87 B.C. fought the Pontic army in Boeotia. L. Robert cites <sup>394</sup> two Thespian epigrams, one praising

<sup>371</sup> Πολύμωμον, III. 152 ff. I should interpret *εὐεργ* as *εὐεργ* rather than as *εὐεργ*.

<sup>372</sup> *PAE* 1941-4, 17, 65.

<sup>373</sup> *Le régime romain de la noxalité*, 439 n. 30.

<sup>374</sup> *BSA* XLIII. 180 f.; 173, 179; 168 f., 183.

<sup>375</sup> *Ann. n.s.* III-IV. 141 ff.; cf. *Riv. Fil* LXXVII. 308 f.

<sup>376</sup> *REG* LIX-LX. 150 ff.; cf. *LXII*. 118.

<sup>377</sup> *Athenaeum*, XXVI. 83 ff.

<sup>378</sup> *La Crète et le monde grec*, 185 n. 1.

<sup>379</sup> *CRAI* 1947, 602; cf. *JHS* LXVII. 107.

<sup>380</sup> *The Western Greeks*, 417.

<sup>381</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 254.

<sup>382</sup> *Hellenica*, IV. 20.

<sup>383</sup> Πολύμωμον, III. 91 ff., γ'.

<sup>384</sup> B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 220 f.

<sup>385</sup> *Hellenica*, IV. 94 ff.

<sup>386</sup> *Mél. Picard*, 694 ff.; cf. *BCH* LXXI-II. 445.

<sup>387</sup> *BSA* XLIII. 180.

<sup>388</sup> *AE* 1939-41, ἀρχ. χρόν. II, 17.

<sup>389</sup> *Cl. Phil* XLII. 237 f. <sup>390</sup> *Mél. Picard*, 692 ff.

<sup>391</sup> *CR* LXII. 8 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 119.

<sup>392</sup> *CR* LXII. 168 f.

<sup>393</sup> *Mél. Picard*, 825 ff.

<sup>394</sup> *Hellenica*, IV. 24, 29 f.; cf. 147.



the culture and rectitude of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, proconsul of Achaea between 362 and 364, the other (*IG VII.* 1855) erected in the Vale of the Muses in honour of a proconsul whose name is lost. To a Thespian metrical epitaph (*ibid.* 1881) A. A. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios adds a new fragment and re-edits<sup>395</sup> the whole. In her article on tripods, lebetes and obols at Gortyn M. Guarducci discusses<sup>396</sup> some items in an inventory from Chorsiae (cf. *JHS LIX.* 259). Meritt publishes<sup>397</sup> a fragmentary text copied by F. Vernon, probably near Thebes, Wilhelm discusses<sup>398</sup> the erasure of the name of King Demetrius in *IG VII.* 2419 ii 14 (= *SIG* 337. 30), and L. Robert restores<sup>399</sup> l. 2 of a Theban grave-epigram (*IG VII.* 2537). G. Klaffenbach offers<sup>400</sup> a new restoration of the opening lines of an amphictionic decree from the Ptoön near Acraephia (*SIG* 635A), and L. Wenger comments<sup>401</sup> on the κανών of the great building-inscription of Lebadea (*IG VII.* 3073 = *SIG* 972; cf. *JHS LXVII.* 108).

[*IG VIII.*] Steady progress is maintained in preparation for the projected Delphian *Corpus* by the publication of new inscriptions from DELPHI and the restoration and interpretation of those already known.<sup>402</sup> Of new texts two are of especial interest. J. Pouilloux edits<sup>403</sup> a further fragment of the list of contributions for the rebuilding of Apollo's temple, in which several words or formulae occur for the first time and the phrase τοῦ ἐπικεφάλου ὀβολοῦ indicates that the gifts of states comprised in the Amphictionic League were proportionate to their population; Pouilloux examines the meaning of πρῶτος ὀβολός and δεύτερος ὀβολός (paid only by League members) and ἐπαρχή (paid by individuals and foreign states), and dates the new fragment in 356 B.C. G. Daux publishes<sup>404</sup> an unhappily mutilated and worn *lex sacra* regulating sacrifices and the duties of θεαροί, which he dates ca. 425 B.C. and assigns to Andros on the ground of its dialect and the occurrence of Ἄνδριο- in the text. In a long article<sup>405</sup> on Delphian inscriptions Daux includes a number of *inedita*, chiefly records of the bestowal of προξενία or other honours, among which the most interesting are a fragmentary statue-base of Philip of Macedon erected by the Amphissians (no. 5), a third-century proxeny-grant containing a new archon's name (no. 24; cf. 32), the signatures of two Theban sculptors (no. 26) and an honorary decree for a κισθαφδός from Rhegium (no. 27; cf. 35), adds new fragments to *Fouilles*, III (3). 218, 221, (6). 129, 138, and other published inscriptions, and offers a number of addenda and corrigenda to *Fouilles*, III (6),<sup>406</sup> his own article, *BCH LXXIII-IX.* 94 ff., that of Jannoray, *BCH LXX.* 247 ff., that of C. Callmer (see below) and other publications. Daux also devotes an important article<sup>407</sup> to a survey of the status and duties of the θεαροδόκοι appointed by Delphi in many Greek cities, and discusses the three geographical lists of these functionaries inscribed at Delphi, (a) the fifth-century list (*SIG* 90), here (pp. 4 ff.) re-edited, (b) the 'great list', the text of which is emended, supplemented by the addition of a new fragment, and tentatively dated ca. 235-21 B.C. (pp. 12 ff.), and (c) a new list, here first edited in full (pp. 27 ff.), dating from the second century and continuing the 'great list'. P. de La Coste-Messelière examines<sup>408</sup> in detail the amphictionic lists given by eighteen inscriptions in *Fouilles*, III (5), sets out their chronological implications (pp. 229 ff.), draws up a new table of archons from 343 to 323 B.C. (pp. 235 f.), and discusses some questions raised by the fourth-century Delphian accounts (pp. 243 ff.); to the study of Delphian coinage at this period E. J. P. Raven also makes a contribution.<sup>409</sup> M. Segre's inquiry into the Pergamene Nikephoria includes<sup>410</sup> a brief discussion of the Delphic Soteria, M. Guarducci investigates<sup>411</sup> the relations between Crete and Delphi, especially in the archaic period, W. L. Westermann appeals<sup>412</sup> to Delphian manumissions in support of his interpretation of παραμονή as a 'general service contract', and C. Callmer's account<sup>413</sup> of A. F. Sturtzenbecker's visit to Delphi in 1784 contains texts of seven Delphian inscriptions copied by the Swedish traveller. Recent epigraphical discoveries at Delphi are reported<sup>414</sup> by P. Amandry.

Other previously published inscriptions have been restudied. G. Klaffenbach uses<sup>415</sup>

<sup>395</sup> *Πολύμων*, III 79 f., 17' f.; cf. *REG LXI.* 156.

<sup>396</sup> *Rio Fil LXXII-III.* 177.

<sup>397</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 215.

<sup>398</sup> *Wien. Stud.* LXI-II. 165 f.

<sup>399</sup> *Hellenica*, II. 117 f., VII. 240.

<sup>400</sup> *Philol XCVII.* 373 ff.

<sup>401</sup> *SB Wien*, CCXX (2). 12 n. 5.

<sup>402</sup> Cf. *BCH LXXIII.* 254. <sup>403</sup> *Ibid.* 177 ff.

<sup>404</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII. 58 ff.; cf. *BCH LXIII.* 142, 190,

204, *LXXIII.* 293.

<sup>405</sup> *BCH LXXIII.* 248 ff.

<sup>406</sup> Cf. *AJA L.* 437 f., *REG LXI.* 157.

<sup>407</sup> *REG LXII.* 1 ff.; cf. *BCH LXXIII.* 273.

<sup>408</sup> *BCH LXXIII.* 201 ff.

<sup>409</sup> *Num Chron* 1949, Proc. 2 f.

<sup>410</sup> L. Robert, *Hellenica*, V. 125 ff.

<sup>411</sup> \**Stud. e mat.* XIX-XX. 85 ff.; cf. *REG LXI.* 157.

<sup>412</sup> *Journ. Jur. Pap.* II. 9 ff.

<sup>413</sup> *Opusc. arch.* V. 113 ff.

<sup>414</sup> *BCH LXXI-II.* 446 ff.

<sup>415</sup> *Philol XCVII.* 373 ff.; cf. Daux, *BCH LXXIII.* 252.



the Amphictionic decree relative to the Theban cult of Dionysus Cadmeus (*Fouilles*, III (1). 351) to restore the text of a similar decree from the Ptoön in Bocotia (*SIG* 635A), and by means of the latter corrects ll. 17-20 of the Delphian document. A. Wilhelm interprets <sup>416</sup> the παῖδες mentioned in the arbitration between Bumelita and Halae (*Fouilles*, III (1). 362. 29) as slaves rather than sons, a view anticipated <sup>417</sup> by A. M. Woodward; he also examines <sup>418</sup> the Athenian (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>. 1134) and Delphian (*Fouilles*, III (2). 69 = *SIG* 704E) copies of the Delphian decree in honour of the Athenian κοινὸν τῶν τεχνιτῶν, interpreting the references to Athens as the mother of civilization and defending the language of the decree against Daux's criticisms. <sup>419</sup> O. Weinreich re-edits <sup>420</sup> an epigram (*Fouilles*, III (2). 106) which may refer to a pantomime, L. Robert explains <sup>421</sup> the ethnic Ἰχναῖος borne by a Delphian πρόξενος (*Fouilles*, III (3). 207. 2), M. T. Mitsos bases his discussion <sup>422</sup> of 'Thermika and Panaitolika' partly on a decree of the Aetolian League (*ibid.* 214. 38, 40), and I. I. Russu restores <sup>423</sup> Ἀ[ρ]πάλου for A. παίου in *BCH* XLV. 18 l. 84. In a posthumous article <sup>424</sup> L. Deubner seeks to solve a problem raised by a passage near the close of the Labyad inscription (*GDI* 2561) and comments on the cult of Bouzyga, P. de La Coste-Messelière suggests <sup>425</sup> possible restorations of the votive inscription accompanying the offering of the Tarentines after their defeat of the Messapians, F. Sokolowski comments <sup>426</sup> on the sacrificial tariff of the pact between Delphi and Sciathus and explains the phrase ἐπὶ φρυκτῷ, and M. Guarducci restores <sup>427</sup> an archaic inscription (*BCH* LXIII. 216 ff.) on a statue-base as [π]ελανὸν Πίερες [ἀνέθεκαν] (probably the Pierians of Olympus), followed by a sum expressed in minas and drachmas; the offering, perhaps dating from the early fifth century B.C., was a statue dedicated in lieu of a sacrificial tax (πελανός), which word she doubtfully restores on Hiero's base (*SIG* 35C). She also restores <sup>428</sup> another Delphian inscription (*Philol* LXXI. 56), M. Gigante proposes <sup>429</sup> emendations in ll. 8, 11, 14-16 of the anonymous paeon to Apollo (*Fouilles*, III (2). 137), J. H. Oliver discusses <sup>430</sup> the identity of the Longinus of *SIG* 827A, and L. H. Jeffery examines <sup>431</sup> the script of a sixth-century architectural block from the Corinthian Treasury (*Fouilles*, III (3). 153), pointing out that its alphabet is not Corinthian.

[*IG* IX.] The travels of L. Lerat and F. Chamoux in W. LOCRI have borne good fruit, epigraphical and topographical, including <sup>432</sup> two fragments of a dedication to Artemis Tauropolos from Penteoria, the epitaph of an ἀρχιπαῖς from Glypha and an archaic epitaph from Kolopetinitsa; many inscriptions already known (among them *IG* IX (1). 336, 341, 344) have been rediscovered and recopied. Recent finds include <sup>433</sup> the beginning of a decree of the W. Locrian κοινὸν from Malandrino. L. Robert studies and emends <sup>434</sup> a puzzling epigram from Naupactus (*ibid.* 390) for an official who is described as εὐνο[μ]ῆς ἰουστῆρ. A bronze plate from Molycreum has been added <sup>435</sup> to the Athens Museum. In her article on the Corinthian iota L. H. Jeffery deals <sup>436</sup> with the clay sima-fragments from the sixth-century temple at Calydon in AETOLIA, and these, together with the other inscriptions from that site, are reviewed <sup>437</sup> by E. Dyggve in his final report on the Danish excavation of the Laphrion, to which F. Poulsen contributes an appendix on the history and nature of the cult. The excavations at Aētos in Ithaca have brought to light <sup>438</sup> an epitaph of the second century B.C., two puzzling inscriptions, one of them apparently metrical, on oinochoai, and the maker's signature on a t.c. candlestick. I. K. Papademetriou discusses <sup>439</sup> the identity of the Jovianus of a Corcyraean inscription (*IG* IX (1). 721) in the light of a recently discovered mosaic referring to a bishop of that name.

P. Amandry reports <sup>440</sup> on the damage done during the War to inscriptions at Larissa, Tyrnavo and Elassona in THESSALY. At Gonnus a dedication to Pythian Apollo has been

<sup>416</sup> *Wien Anz.*, 1948, 67; cf. *REG* LXII. 120.

<sup>417</sup> *BCH* LIV. 322 n. 1; cf. *REG* LXII. 120.

<sup>418</sup> *Wien. Stud.* LXI-II. 167 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 120, *BCH* LXXIII. 252 ff.

<sup>419</sup> *Delphes au II<sup>e</sup> et au I<sup>er</sup> siècle*, 368 ff.

<sup>420</sup> *SB Heidelberg*, 1944-8 (1). 121.

<sup>421</sup> *Hellenica*, II. 85 ff.

<sup>422</sup> *Hesperia*, XVI. 256 ff.; cf. *AJA* LII. 390, *REG* LXII.

<sup>423</sup> *f.*

<sup>424</sup> *Dacia*, XI-XII. 270 no. 12.

<sup>425</sup> *Abh Berl* 1945-6 (4); cf. *REG* LXII. 119 f.

<sup>426</sup> *Mél. Picard*, 522 ff. <sup>427</sup> *Ibid.* 981 ff.

<sup>428</sup> *Riv Fil* LXXV. 244 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 120.

<sup>429</sup> Cf. *REG* LXI. 157 no. 85.

<sup>430</sup> *Parola del Passato*, II. 87 ff.

<sup>431</sup> *AJP* LXIX. 435 f.

<sup>432</sup> *BSA* XLIII. 205.

<sup>433</sup> *BCH* LXXI-II. 57, 66, 74, 78; cf. *AJA* LI. 273, LII. 528, *JHS* LXVI. 112, *REG* LXII. 120 f., *Fasti arch.* I. 819.

<sup>434</sup> Cf. *BCH* LXXI-II. 455, *JHS* LXVII. 37, *REG* LXII. 121.

<sup>435</sup> *Hellenica*, IV. 83 ff.

<sup>436</sup> *AE* 1939-41, ἀρχ. χρον. 18 no. 13.

<sup>437</sup> *BSA* XLIII. 203 ff.

<sup>438</sup> *Das Laphrion, der Tempelbezirk in Kalýdon* (Copenhagen, 1948), 172-5, 196 f., 206, 296, 335, 338-42.

<sup>439</sup> *JHS* LXVI. 117, *BSA* XLIII. 81 f., 88 f.

<sup>440</sup> *AE* 1942-4, ἀρχ. χρον. 39 ff.; cf. *PAE* 1936, 100, *AE* 1929, 187.

<sup>441</sup> *BCH* LXXI-II. 384.



found,<sup>441</sup> and A. Chatzes comments<sup>442</sup> on the word δραγατεύω, used in the record of a frontier-dispute found there (*AE* 1913, 25 ff.).<sup>443</sup> A. S. Arvanitopoulos continues his description of the painted stelae from Demetrias-Pagasae collected in the Volo Museum; of the fifteen items in question ten are inscribed and include the names of a Cretan from Rhaucus (no. 236),<sup>444</sup> a Pellaeian (no. 238) and a woman from Theangela (no. 248). L. Robert discusses<sup>445</sup> the oracle of Apollo Coropaëus, interpreting the two relevant decrees of Demetrias passed soon after 116 B.C. (*IG IX* (2). 1109 = *SIG* 1157); the measures there prescribed are, he argues, purely disciplinary, aimed at securing εὐκοσμία and not at the revival or reform of the cult.

#### V. MACEDONIA, THRACE AND SCYTHIA

[*IG X.*] A relief inscribed ἀρὰ τῷ Διὶ οὐ βέλο[ς] διήπτα[αι] (*cf. Eur. Suppl.* 860) has been added<sup>446</sup> to the Museum at Jannina in EPIRUS, and A. Wilhelm reads<sup>447</sup> πανπασίο, πανπασίας in two oracular tablets from Dodona (Ἡπειρ. χρον. X. 253 f.) instead of the proper names Πανπασίο, -ίας. L. H. Jeffery examines<sup>448</sup> the script on a votive statuette from the same temple.

V. Beshevliev discusses<sup>449</sup> two Christian texts (Vulič, *Spomenik*, LXXI. 29, LXXV. 175) from Heraclea (Bitolj) and Achris (Okhrid) in N. W. MACEDONIA. A dedication<sup>450</sup> of ἀμπέλων δύο ὄρχοι ἐκ τῶν πεκουλιάρων by a vine-dresser to Ζεὺς Ὑψίστος, discovered at Aeane (Kalliani), is now at Kozani, and a fragmentary votive relief of Zeus Keraunios from Kozani has been added<sup>451</sup> to the National Museum at Athens. Robert adds<sup>452</sup> a late epitaph from Dium to his collection of gladiatorial monuments. J. A. O. Larsen, questioning Feyel's view (*cf. JHS* LXVII. 111) of the organization of Macedonia by Aemilius Paulus in 167 B.C., examines<sup>453</sup> the Beroean inscriptions which refer to συνέδροι or a συνέδριον, and gives a revised text of one (*RA* XXXVII (1900), 489) which, though tantalizingly incomplete, is of especial interest for this question; the problem is further discussed<sup>454</sup> by A. Aymard. Robert identifies<sup>455</sup> the consular Licinius Rufus honoured at Beroea (*AA* 1942, 176 no. 9) as συναγορεύσαντα τῇ ἐπαρχείᾳ περὶ τῆς συντελείας τῶν Θετταλῶν with a well-known jurist, probably a native of Thyatira, and comments on other Beroean honours in the same series (*ibid.* 177 no. 12, 183 no. 24). Further finds from Beroea are reported.<sup>456</sup>

C. F. Edson, locating the tomb of Olympias at Pydna (Makriyalos), publishes<sup>457</sup> an epigram of the infant Alcimachus, son of Neoptolemus, τῶν ἀπ' Ὀλυμπιάδος, and an epigram from Kitros (the new Pydna, founded in 410 B.C. by Archelaus) relating to the same family, and offers a new restoration of an epigram<sup>458</sup> mentioning the τύμβον Ὀλυμπιά[δος]. He also devotes a long and valuable article,<sup>459</sup> based almost wholly on inscriptions, to the public cults of Roman Thessalonica—those of Dionysus, Isis and Serapis, and Cabirus—re-editing (pp. 154 ff.) an epitaph set up by a θίασος Ἀσιανῶν, examining (pp. 161 ff.) an altar of a ὑδροσκόπος and priest of Dionysus, dated A.D. 132 (*Rev Phil* XIII (1939), 128 ff.), and the famous 'testament of a Thessalonian priestess' (pp. 165 ff.), summarizing the inscriptions relative to the cult of the Egyptian gods (pp. 181 ff.) and that of Cabirus (pp. 188 ff.), and giving a new reading and restoration (pp. 192 ff.) of the one inscription which specifically refers to that cult; he also publishes a text from Velvendos of a Macedoniarch and ἀρχιερεὺς and πρεσβυτεράρχης τῶν Ὀλυμπίων and an honorary inscription from Braniates, N.E. of Beroea (pp. 195 ff.). C. I. Makaronas edits<sup>460</sup> two texts, found in or near the church of St. Demetrius, a decree of the νέοι, passed in 95 B.C., in honour of a gymnasiarch, and an ephebic list of A.D. 206 referring to θεὸς Φοῦλβος, and B. G. Kallipolites<sup>461</sup> two sarcophagus-inscriptions, of which the first, though found at Salonica, seems to belong to Philippi, prescribing penalties for

<sup>441</sup> *JHS* LXVI. 112.

<sup>442</sup> Πολύμων, III. 93.

<sup>443</sup> Πολύμων, IV. 1 ff. Should not Βιδύγου (no. 241) be Βιδύτου?

<sup>444</sup> *I Cret I*, p. 291, where Ἡρωσάργας is read; I prefer Arvanitopoulos' Ἡρώς Ἀργάς.

<sup>445</sup> *Hellenica*, V. 16 ff.; *cf. REG* LXII. 122.

<sup>446</sup> *JHS* LXVI. 112, *Fasti arch.* I. 117; *cf. REG* LXII. 122.

<sup>447</sup> *Op. cit.* (n. 32), 683 (where ποικασία is a mere misprint).

<sup>448</sup> *BSA* XLIII. 206.

<sup>449</sup> *Ann. Mus. Nat. Bulg.* VII. 234 f.; *cf. REG* LXI. 168 f.

<sup>450</sup> *JHS* LXVI. 113, *Fasti arch.* I. 118.

<sup>451</sup> *AE* 1939-41, ἀρχ. χρον. 10.

<sup>452</sup> *Hellenica*, VII. 126 ff.

<sup>453</sup> *Cl Phil* XLIV. 73 ff.

<sup>454</sup> *Cl Phil* XLV. 96 ff.

<sup>455</sup> *Hellenica*, V. 29 ff.

<sup>456</sup> *BCH* LXXI-II. 438; *cf. REG* LXII. 123.

<sup>457</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII. 84 ff.

<sup>458</sup> G. P. Oikonomos, *Ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας*, 65; *cf. AE* 1924, 54 f.

<sup>459</sup> *Harv. Theol. Rev.* XLI. 153 ff.

<sup>460</sup> *Μνημόσυνη Πατριστάδα*, 293 ff.; *cf. REG* LXII. 123 f., *BCH* LXXI-II. 399.

<sup>461</sup> *Ibid.* 311 ff.; *cf. REG* LXII. 124 f., *BCH* LXXI-II. 438.



tomb-violation. L. Robert comments <sup>462</sup> on an epigram (*AM* LXVI. 65) praising the integrity (ὑγιὲς γνῶμη) of a governor, and on the Thessalonian inscription in honour of the jurist Licinius Rufinus, <sup>463</sup> H. G. Pflaum discusses <sup>464</sup> an inscription (*AM* XXV. 117) for a τριβούνον Βατάο(υ)ων καὶ διέποντα τὰ μέρη τῆς ἡγεμονίας, and S. Eitrem calls attention <sup>465</sup> to the palindrome νίψον ἀνομήματα μὴ μόναν ὄψιν, which originally, he thinks, had the singular ἀνόμημα.

A bilingual building-record has come to light <sup>466</sup> at Potidaea, and J. Papastavru's article <sup>467</sup> on the Chalcidian League and the Olynthians examines the use of the term κοινόν in the fifth and fourth centuries and the treaty between Amyntas of Macedon and the Chalcidians (*SIG* 135 = *GHI* 111). Robert adds <sup>468</sup> to his gladiatorial *corpus* an epigram from Amphipolis, and I. I. Russu recognizes <sup>469</sup> in a relief from that site <sup>470</sup> a dedication [Θεῷ Σ]ουπερ[έθῃ]. I omit, as falling outside my present scope, a group of late Christian inscriptions from Thessalonica, Mount Athos and the Prodomos Monastery near Serres, for which I refer to J. and L. Robert's 'Bulletin'. <sup>471</sup> Philippi may claim a sarcophagus found at Salonica (see above), and Russu emends <sup>472</sup> the reading of an epitaph from the same region (*SEG* II. 429). V. Beshevliev and G. Mihailov publish <sup>473</sup> forty-nine Greek and eight Latin inscriptions from Amphipolis, Serres, Drama, Kavala and other sites in E. Macedonia, the Thracian border and Thasos; of the Greek texts, mostly epitaphs or dedications, thirty-one were unpublished, and new readings are given of several already known. D. Detchev edits <sup>474</sup> an interesting record of an endowment for the provision of oil, found at Sveti Vrač on the middle Strymon, at or near which J. and L. Robert suggest <sup>475</sup> that Parthicopolis may have lain. D. P. Dimitrov examines <sup>476</sup> the portraiture of the gravestones of the Roman period from N.E. Macedonia, adding (pp. 109 ff.) a list of the monuments in question and (pp. 123 ff.) a brief and faulty German summary; the chief emphasis falls on art, but the inscriptions (of which nos. 15, 18, 31 are new) are also recorded, and those which are dated afford the chronological basis of the inquiry, which takes into account (pp. 60 ff.) inscribed gravestones with portraits from the rest of Macedonia and other areas.

The S. coast of THRACE is poorly represented. C. M. Danov examines <sup>477</sup> a statement in Polybius about Thrace in the light of a well-known honorary decree of Sestos (*OGI* 339), K. M. Apostolides discusses <sup>478</sup> a metrical epitaph of Perinthus (Ἀθηνᾶ, VIII. 345 f.), L. Robert presents <sup>479</sup> the epigraphical and other evidence for Bisanthe, Heraionteichos and other cities of the Chersonese and Thrace, and publishes <sup>480</sup> a votive relief [Ἡ]ρωὶ ἀρχαγέτα, now in Istanbul, which he assigns to a sanctuary at Kadikuei, some five miles N.E. of Selymbria, and A. M. Schneider deals <sup>481</sup> with some Byzantine inscriptions from Istanbul. The Greek cities on the E. coast of Thrace and Moesia are specially prolific. A. Kocevalov calls attention to some recent discoveries made in this region in his 'Contributions to the Euxine Inscriptions' <sup>482</sup> and his survey <sup>483</sup> of recent progress in the epigraphy of the Euxine colonies. C. M. Danov makes free use of epigraphical sources for his work <sup>484</sup> on the west coast of the Pontus, in which he traces the Greek colonization and devotes a chapter to the history of each of the cities in question, and in his detailed article <sup>485</sup> (to which a German summary is added) on the economic history of that region down to the Roman settlement. G. Mihailov edits <sup>486</sup> fourteen inscriptions found at Apollonia (Sozopol), including ten grave-stelae of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., a decree (no. 13) thanking Antiochus II Theos for aiding Apollonia and Mesambria against the Celts, and part of a Vespasianic milestone (no. 14), while Danov's examination <sup>487</sup> (in Bulgarian, with German summary) of the early history of Apollonia, the west coast of the Pontus and S.E. Thrace discusses the fourth-century treaties of ἰσπολιτεία

<sup>462</sup> *Hellenica*, IV. 40.

<sup>463</sup> *Hellenica*, V. 30 ff.

<sup>464</sup> \**Le marbre de Thorigny*, 57 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 124 f.

<sup>465</sup> *Symb. Oslo*. XXVI. 177 f., XXVII. 145; cf. *Éranos*, XLIV. 223 ff.

<sup>466</sup> *BCH* LXXI-II. 438.

<sup>467</sup> *Μνημόσυλον Πατριτσόκι*, 95 ff.

<sup>468</sup> *Hellenica*, V. 77 f.

<sup>469</sup> *Ann. Mus. Nat. Plovdiv*, I. 58 f.; cf. *REG* LXII. 125.

<sup>470</sup> Kazarow, *Denkmäler*, 420.

<sup>471</sup> *REG* LXI. 166 f.

<sup>472</sup> *Ann. Mus. Plovdiv*, I. 59; cf. *REG* LXII. 99.

<sup>473</sup> *Belomorski Pregled*, I. 318 ff.; cf. *REG* LXI. 168, 178, *Dacia*, XI-XII. 270 no. 9.

<sup>474</sup> *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* XIII. 191 ff.; cf. *REG* LXI. 169. In *REG* LXII. 125 f. J. and L. Robert point out the

errors contained in the summary of this inscription in *AJA* LII. 277.

<sup>475</sup> *REG* LXI. 169. See also *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* XII. 449 and below (p. 42).

<sup>476</sup> *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* XIII. 1 ff.; cf. *REG* LXI. 170.

<sup>477</sup> *Bull. Soc. Hist. Bulg.* XXII-III. 180 ff.

<sup>478</sup> *Θρακικά*, XX. 204 ff.

<sup>479</sup> *Hellenica*, V. 35 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 126 f.

<sup>480</sup> *Hellenica*, VII. 47 ff. <sup>481</sup> *AA* 1944-5, 72 ff.

<sup>482</sup> *Wärzb. Jahrb.* III. 163 ff. <sup>483</sup> *Ibid.* 263 ff.

<sup>484</sup> *Die westliche Pontusküste im Altertum*, Sofia, 1947.

<sup>485</sup> *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* XII. 185 ff.; cf. *REG* LXI. 179.

<sup>486</sup> *Mus. Nat. Bulg.* 1948, 59 ff.; cf. I. I. Russu, *Ann. Mus.*

*Nat. Plovdiv*, I. 58. <sup>487</sup> *Bull. Soc. Hist. Bulg.* XXII-III. 180 ff.



between Miletus and Olbia (*SIG* 286) and between Miletus and Histria (*Dacia*, III-IV. 398). K. Škorpil publishes,<sup>488</sup> mostly for the first time, fifty-three monuments of the Thracian herocult, fifteen of them inscribed, from Odessus and the neighbourhood, now housed in the Varna Museum, and elsewhere<sup>489</sup> a part of the archaeological material collected by that scholar in the course of about fifty years is made accessible, consisting of 176 unpublished monuments, the great majority inscribed, found at, or in the vicinity of, Odessus; one of these (no. 28), a fragment relating to a gladiatorial show, probably in the second century A.D., is re-edited<sup>490</sup> by L. Robert. In his eighth preliminary report on the excavation of Callatis (Mangalia) T. Sauciu-Săveanu includes<sup>491</sup> twenty-two inscriptions, most of them fragmentary, among which are two honorary decrees (pp. 287 f., 292 ff.) and a dedication ἡρωὶ κτίσῃ (p. 298), and J. H. Oliver corrects<sup>492</sup> a false reading and interpretation of the inscription (*IGR* I. 654) in which Callatis honours the propraetor P. Vinicius. S. Lambrino publishes<sup>493</sup> a document from Histria, set up in the reign of Septimius Severus by οἱ ἐκ τοῦ λεγο[μ]ένου λαϊκοῦ πύργου, and H. I. Marrou appeals<sup>494</sup> to boundary-stones from this district in locating the birthplace of the theologian Johannes Cassianus. D. Tudor studies<sup>495</sup> a mutilated inscription of uncertain provenance, now in the Bucarest Museum, engraved on the back of a marble head, and G. Ștefan points out<sup>496</sup> that an epitaph hitherto assigned to Poiana (*SEG* I. 331) really comes from Bărboși, near the confluence of Sereth and Danube.

The numerous inscriptions from the interior of Thrace, nearly all dedications or epitaphs, come from find-spots widely dispersed and often hard to locate, and are for the most part published in Bulgarian, of which I regret my ignorance, and in periodicals some of which are not widely accessible in Britain; all the more valuable are the copious summaries<sup>497</sup> of J. and L. Robert. B. Gerov's essay<sup>498</sup> on the office and title of ἑραρχὴς is based on nine Greek inscriptions from Thrace (together with two in Latin from Philippi) ranging from the middle of the second to the late third or early fourth century A.D., and E. Condurachi shows<sup>499</sup> by reference to inscriptions and coins the wide extent and peculiar nature of the Asclepius-cult in Lower Moesia and Thrace. G. Mihailov collects<sup>500</sup> and annotates the published Greek epigrams of 'Bulgarian lands' (in which he includes Macedonia and Thasos), with useful indexes and tables and a brief German summary; of the 173 items in this *corpus* 150 are from the mainland and the rest from Thasos. K. M. Apostolides continues his series of συλλογαὶ ἀρχαίων ἐπιγραφῶν, collecting those found at or near Serdica (Sofia),<sup>501</sup> eighty-one in number, and the seventy-two discovered in, or in the vicinity of, Pautalia.<sup>502</sup> L. Robert interprets<sup>503</sup> a fragmentary inscription of Serdica,<sup>504</sup> containing an invitation to a festival in the reign of Antoninus Pius, S. N. Bobchev publishes<sup>505</sup> an inscribed architrave-block from the temple of Serapis, and T. D. Gerasimov<sup>506</sup> an honorary text on a statue-base and a fragmentary epitaph, both from Serdica. An altar of Claudius' reign, dedicated by thirty-three στρατηγοί, is reported<sup>507</sup> from Paradisos in the Nestus Valley, and L. Robert corrects<sup>508</sup> anew the restoration of an honorary inscription from that region (*IGR* I. 829). V. Beshevliev disinters<sup>509</sup> from a local journal of 1911 an interesting dedication to κυρία Ἀρτεμῖς, found at Nicopolis ad Nestum (Nevrokop) but now apparently lost, which names six or seven new Thracian στρατηγία. At Branipole, near Philippopolis (Plovdiv), D. Tsontchev has discovered<sup>510</sup> a thankoffering of a Roman citizen, and L. Botoucharova<sup>511</sup> forty-five votive reliefs, mostly to Hera, in a shrine near the village of Dulevo. G. Kazarow offers<sup>512</sup> a new reading of l. i of a metrical epitaph (*SEG* III. 543). D. Detchev publishes<sup>513</sup> four inscriptions from Augusta

<sup>488</sup> *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* XIII. 129 ff.; cf. *REG* LXI. 179, 181.

<sup>489</sup> *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* XIV. 8 ff.; cf. *REG* LXI. 179 ff. For Odessus see also *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* XII. 432 f., XIII. 332 ff.

<sup>490</sup> *Hellenica*, VII. 132 ff.

<sup>491</sup> *Dacia*, IX-X. 243 f., 287 ff.

<sup>492</sup> *AJP* LXIX. 217 f.

<sup>493</sup> *Mél. Marouzeau*, 324 f., 342 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 127.

<sup>494</sup> For an Istrian epigram see L. Robert, *Hellenica*, VII. 76 f.

<sup>495</sup> \**Orient. Christ. Period.* XIII. 588 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 127.

<sup>496</sup> *Dacia*, IX-X. 422 f.

<sup>497</sup> *Ibid.* 562 f.

<sup>498</sup> *REG* LXI. 170 ff., LXII. 126 ff.

<sup>499</sup> *Ann. Mus. Nat. Plovdiv*, I. 27 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 126.

<sup>500</sup> *Atti V. Congr. Naz. Studi Rom.* II. 441 ff.

<sup>501</sup> *Jahrb. Sofia*, XXXIX. 1 ff., XL. 1 ff.; cf. *REG* LXI. 171.

<sup>502</sup> *Θρακικά*, XX. 102 ff.

<sup>503</sup> *Θρακικά*, XIX. 105 ff. On *SEG* I. 303 see Russu, *Ann. Mus. Nat. Plovdiv*, I. 57.

<sup>504</sup> *Hellenica*, VII. 133 f., *REG* LXI. 174.

<sup>505</sup> \*G. Mihailov, *Bull. Soc. Hist. Bulg.* XXI. 117 ff.

<sup>506</sup> *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* XIV. 220 f.; cf. *REG* LXI. 174.

<sup>507</sup> *Ibid.* 261; cf. *REG* LXI. 174.

<sup>508</sup> *BCH* LXXI-II. 401.

<sup>509</sup> *Hellenica*, V. 56 ff.

<sup>510</sup> *Rev. Acad. Bulg.* LXX. 201 ff.; cf. *REG* LXI. 172.

<sup>511</sup> *Ann. Mus. Nat. Plovdiv*, I. 35 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 126.

<sup>512</sup> *Ibid.* I. 61 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 126.

<sup>513</sup> *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* XIV. 57 f. For Philippopolis see also *Ann. Mus. Nat. Plovdiv*, I. 58, *REG* LXI. 174 ff.

<sup>514</sup> *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* XIV. 234 ff.; cf. *REG* LXI. 177.



Traiana (Stara Zagora) and the vicinity; in one of them, a poem celebrating the restoration of internal peace, A. M. Woodward proposes <sup>514</sup> improved restorations, while another, relating to gladiatorial combats, is re-edited <sup>515</sup> by Robert. A. Wilhelm suggests <sup>516</sup> δ[ιεύλυ](<τ>ῶσι[ν] for δ[ιεύλυ]σσω[ι] in ll. 79-80 of the foundation-charter of Pizus (*SIG* 880), and L. Robert unites <sup>517</sup> two fragments of an epigram of Nicopolis ad Istrum in praise of the uprightness of a governor, while I. I. Russu comments <sup>518</sup> on a dedication from the same site and on other Thracian texts. Among the remaining new finds I note a boundary-stone <sup>519</sup> from Peristasis bearing the names of the Augusti Diocletian and Maximian and the Caesars Constantius and Maximian, a votive and the epitaph of a gladiator Ἐπιπτάς πουλσάτωρ from Tatarevo, edited <sup>520</sup> by I. Velkov, of which the latter is discussed <sup>521</sup> by Robert, two puzzling fragments <sup>522</sup> from Pliska, the old Bulgarian capital, and an inscription <sup>523</sup> from Marcianopolis (Markovo) honouring Valerian and Gallienus. A valuable article <sup>524</sup> by D. Detchev contains twenty-three inscriptions from the provinces of Sveti Vrač (nos. 1, 7-15, 22), Petrič (nos. 2-5), Anchialo (nos. 16-19), and elsewhere (nos. 6, 20, 23, 25); among them are two interesting grave-monuments (nos. 1, 7) and altars dedicated θεῷ μεγάλῳ Πυρμηρούλῳ and θεῷ οὐρανίῳ ὑποπτέρῳ Νείκῃ (nos. 10, 14), <sup>525</sup> all from the region of Sveti Vrač and three of them bearing date-formulae. Other finds, mostly fragmentary, are reported <sup>526</sup> from various provenances. G. Ștefan publishes <sup>527</sup> a Byzantine lead seal from Noviodunum, D. Tudor <sup>528</sup> two inscribed mirrors and many dipinti, some Christian, on amphorae and sherds from Sucidava, and G. Florescu <sup>529</sup> fragments of a marble cornice and lintel from Capidava.

Wilhelm interprets <sup>530</sup> an Olbian epigram (*IOSPE* I<sup>2</sup>. 175), misunderstood <sup>531</sup> by Peek, and G. Bakalakis examines <sup>532</sup> as a work of art the grave-relief of Leoxos from Chersonesus (*SEG* III. 594).

## VI. ISLANDS OF THE AEGEAN

[*IG* XI.] Among recent discoveries at DELOS three call for special notice, (a) a fragment of a fourth-century bronze tablet on which is engraved a decree of προξενία, edited <sup>533</sup> by H. Gallet de Santerre and J. Tréheux, (b) a Dorian decree containing several interesting technical terms, passed, probably after 166 B.C., in honour of two Athenian benefactors, which L. Robert assigns <sup>534</sup> with probability to Phlius, and (c) the opening lines of a Delian decree honouring the Ptolemaic general Eirenaeus of Alexandria in the early second century B.C., which M. Launey associates <sup>535</sup> with other epigraphical evidence for the same man (above, p. 35). Other finds are reported, <sup>536</sup> but not yet published, notably <sup>537</sup> the upper part of the stele bearing the Spartan decree liberating Delos at the close of the Peloponnesian War (*SIG* 119a = *GHI* 99), found on an islet in the Rhenea Channel. J. Tréheux deals <sup>538</sup> in a valuable article with Delian history from 403 to the liberation of the island in autumn 314, tracing the fluctuations in the rents of temple-properties, and establishing the dates, from 326 to 315, of the twelve <sup>539</sup> archons named in *IG* XI. 1067a by reference to XI. 138B, here slightly amended; thanks to this and Tréheux's other chronological studies, <sup>540</sup> the Delian archon-list is now practically complete from 326 to 168 B.C. A. Aymard's discussion of the royal title (above, p. 21) starts <sup>541</sup> from an examination of inscriptions of Philip V at Delos, where he is styled 'King of the Macedonians', not 'King of Macedon'. To J. H. Kent we owe a detailed study <sup>542</sup> of the Delian temple-estates on Delos, Rhenea and Myconus, their location,

<sup>514</sup> *REG* LXII. 126.

<sup>515</sup> *Hellenica*, VII. 131. For Augusta Traiana see also *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* XIII. 315 ff.

<sup>516</sup> *Ὁ γῆ XXXVII*, Beibl. 31 ff.

<sup>517</sup> *Hellenica*, IV. 141 ff.

<sup>518</sup> *Ann. Mus. Nat. Plovdiv*, I. 57 f. (cf. *REG* LXII. 99), *Dacia*, XI-XII. 269 f.

<sup>519</sup> *Θρακικά*, XX. 207 f. Read ἐπὶ τῶν δεσποτῶν κτλ.

<sup>520</sup> *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* XIV. 216 ff.

<sup>521</sup> *Hellenica*, VII. 135 ff., 245.

<sup>522</sup> F. Altheim, *Literatur u. Gesellschaft*, 202 f., M. Mijatev, *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* XIV. 84.

<sup>523</sup> *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* XIV. 277; cf. *REG* LXI. 181.

<sup>524</sup> *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* XII. 281 ff.; cf. *REG* LXI. 169 ff.

<sup>525</sup> In no. 10 γρσ' is a misprint for γρρ', and in no. 14 the editor writes ὑπὸ πτερῶ Νείκης.

<sup>526</sup> *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* XII. 434 f., 444, XIII. 332 ff., XIV. 56, 269, 280 f., XV. 174, 189, 228.

<sup>527</sup> *Dacia*, IX-X. 482.

<sup>528</sup> *Dacia*, XI-XII. 171 ff., 247 ff.

<sup>529</sup> *Ibid.* 218 f.

<sup>530</sup> *Symb. Oslo*. XXVI. 85 f.; cf. *REG* LXII. 127 f.

<sup>531</sup> *Philol* LXXXVII. 233.

<sup>532</sup> Ἑλληνικά ἀμφίγλυφα, 46 f.

<sup>533</sup> *BCH* LXXI-II. 235 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 128.

<sup>534</sup> *Hellenica*, V. 5 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 128.

<sup>535</sup> *Mit. Picard*, 578 ff.

<sup>536</sup> *CRAI* 1947, 608, *BCH* LXXI-II. 416, 419, 462, 464 f., *JHS* LXVII. 41.

<sup>537</sup> *CRAI* 1947, 608, *BCH* LXXI-II. 415, 417, *REG* LXII. 128, *JHS* LXVI. 117, *AJA* LI. 274.

<sup>538</sup> *Mit. Picard*, 1008 ff.

<sup>539</sup> The eighth of these, Ecsthenes, is accidentally omitted from the list on p. 1025, but appears on p. 1032.

<sup>540</sup> *CRAI* 1948, 289 f.

<sup>541</sup> *REG* LXI. xv f.

<sup>542</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 243 ff.



history, terms of tenancy, and rentals, ending with a list (pp. 320 ff.) of 268 lessees known to us in the period 314-166 B.C. W. Deonna uses epigraphical as well as other evidence in his essay<sup>543</sup> on the vegetation of Delos and in his book *La vie privée des Déliens*.<sup>544</sup> J. Delorme's article<sup>545</sup> which seeks by epigraphical and archaeological evidence to identify and date the Delian παλαίστρα includes nine amphora-stamps (one of them non-Hellenic) and three fragments of inscribed earthenware braziers (pp. 256 ff.); he also concludes<sup>546</sup> from the fifteen references to a γαυλός used for the Delian palaestra in the period of independence that the word denotes a wooden bucket, and interprets the phrase ἡ κάτω παλαίστρα as meaning the ground floor of the palaestra and not a second building. O. A. W. Dilke examines<sup>547</sup> inscriptions which bear on the auditorium of the theatre and on the question of wooden seating.<sup>548</sup> To J. Coupry's article on the assistant secretary of the Athenian Amphictions of Delos I refer above (p. 31). Other inscriptions calling for notice are the following:

503. J. H. Kent studies<sup>549</sup> the ἱερὰ συγγραφή, which he dates in 290 B.C.

588. P. M. Fraser shows<sup>550</sup> by reference to this decree that in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus the Delians regarded Alexandria as lying in Egypt.

1098 (*OGI* 216). J. Marcadé examines<sup>551</sup> the inscription below Parthenocles' statue of Phila II, daughter of Seleucus Nicator and wife of Antigonos Gonatas.

1533. A. Wilhelm emends<sup>552</sup> two restorations proposed by Peek (cf. *JHS* LXV. 86) in the epigram of Antisthenes of Paphos honouring a Salaminian.

1631, 1644, 1720, 1770. In an article<sup>553</sup> on sculptors' signatures at Delos, J. Marcadé administers a severe, if salutary, shock to epigraphical confidence by showing that 1720, hitherto read as Νικάνδρος ἐπ[οίησεν] | \*Ανδ[ριος] is really a *lex sacra* ὕμνα μὴ θύειν | μηδ[ε] αἱ[γ]ει[α]. He also corrects the reading of 1644 and 1770, and suggests that 1631 may have been a signature.

2240-1. R. Dussaud interprets<sup>554</sup> the ναμαρὰς of these dedications as the mitre of Atargatis.

2308. J. Gray discusses<sup>555</sup> the nature of the god Hauron named in this dedication.

[*IG* XII.] From the remaining islands, with the exception of Rhodes and Thasos, there is little to report.

M. Segre publishes<sup>556</sup> a late third-century inscription of RHODES, dedicated by priests of various cults, including those of Alexander, Ptolemy I, and Ptolemy and Berenice θεοὶ εὐεργέται, providing the first clear epigraphical evidence for the cult of Alexander and the Ptolemies there; he also gives<sup>557</sup> a revised text of *SEG* III, 674. 42-44, a photograph and discussion of *IG* XII (1). 25 and a correction of XII (1). 37. Elsewhere<sup>558</sup> he edits an honorary inscription from the temple of Apollo Pythaeus, probably after 65 B.C., referring to priests of Ῥώμα, Ὑγίης and the Κύρβανθες, five ἱεροθύται, a προφάτας, and a γραμματεὺς ἱερέως Ἀλίου καὶ ἱεροθύτῶν, confirming Blinkenberg's conjecture of the founding, not before the first century B.C., of an oracle of Apollo Pythaeus under the auspices of Delphi or Didyma; he also publishes<sup>559</sup> three new fragments relating to this cult, honouring κούροι ἀμφιθαλεῖς. J. and L. Robert edit<sup>560</sup> from a photo (*JHS* LXV. 102) a Rhodian decree regulating the dedication of statues and votive offerings in the Asclepieum. Wilhelm offers<sup>561</sup> a revised version of an epigram (*IG* XII (1). 145), found at Rhodes but originating probably from Halicarnassus, honouring Herodotus and Panyassis, re-edited by F. Hiller von Gaertringen and W. Peek in *Hermes*, LXXVI. 220 ff., and L. Robert points out<sup>562</sup> that the Ῥοδίων κλυτὸς οἰκιστὴρ of *Clara Rhodos*, II. 208, is a local benefactor rather than the Emperor Anastasius. P. Amandry reports<sup>563</sup> the recent discovery of Christian inscriptions at Rhodes. To G. P. Carratelli we owe a valuable review<sup>564</sup> of *Lindos*, II (cf. *JHS* LXV. 87), including some unpublished materials. To no. 1 (a list of priests of Athena Lindia) Segre adds<sup>565</sup> a new fragment bearing thirty-two names, prosopographical notes on the priests (71 ff.) and a chronological survey of the list, now complete from 170 to 47 B.C. F. Chamoux comments<sup>566</sup>

<sup>543</sup> *BCH* LXX. 154 ff.

<sup>544</sup> Paris, 1948; cf. *REG* LXII. 129.

<sup>545</sup> *Mél. Picard*, 252 ff.

<sup>546</sup> *BCH* LXXI-II. 255 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 128.

<sup>547</sup> *Mus. Helv.* V. 60 ff.

<sup>548</sup> *BSA* XLIII. 130, 151. <sup>549</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII. 267 ff.

<sup>550</sup> *JRS* XXXIX. 56.

<sup>551</sup> *Mél. Picard*, 688 ff.

<sup>552</sup> *Wien Anz* 1947, 80; cf. *REG* LXII. 129.

<sup>553</sup> *BCH* LXXIII. 152 ff.

<sup>554</sup> *Syria*, XXV. 161 f. <sup>555</sup> *JNE Studies*, VIII. 30 f.

<sup>556</sup> *BSA Alex* XXXIV. 29 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 129.

<sup>557</sup> *Ibid.*, 33, 37 ff. <sup>558</sup> *Parola del passato*, IV. 72 ff.

<sup>559</sup> *Ibid.* 80 ff. <sup>560</sup> *REG* LXI. 183 f.

<sup>561</sup> *Wien Anz* 1947, 73 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 142.

<sup>562</sup> *Hellenica*, IV. 117 f. <sup>563</sup> *BCH* LXXI-II. 442, 444.

<sup>564</sup> *Parola del passato*, I. 138 ff., 399 f.; cf. *REG* LXII. 130.

<sup>565</sup> *Parola del passato*, III. 64 ff.

<sup>566</sup> *CRAI* 1948, 293.



on no. 2 (the 'Lindian Chronicle'), ch. xvii, and Wilhelm discusses, interprets and emends<sup>567</sup> five Lindian epigrams, nos. 291, 484, 496, 621 (= *IG* XII (1). 866), and 698. L. Robert rejects<sup>568</sup> Blinkenberg's restoration<sup>569</sup> ἐν τῇ | [φυλακίδι] in a Rhodian epitaph (*SIG* 1225. 6-7), and T. R. S. Broughton comments<sup>570</sup> on a Rhodian record (*IGR* IV. 1116) in which Gabinius is mentioned as serving in Cilicia in 102 B.C. under the orator M. Antonius.

S. Accame gives an account,<sup>571</sup> based largely on inscriptions, of the constitution and history of the Lesbian κοινόν down to the reign of Commodus, and of the Roman policy of tolerance towards such leagues, which were innocuous and died out owing to internal weakness and apathy. J. Bouüaert's Brussels thesis *Tituli Aeolici* I have not seen; in an article<sup>572</sup> entitled 'Aeolica' he shows that *IG* XII Suppl. 129 is part of XII (2). 549, and restores XII (2). 228 and 229 and Suppl. 112. C. F. Edson discusses<sup>573</sup> Wilhelm's restoration (*ÖJh* III. 53) of an interesting record of a guild of Sarapiastae at Methymna (*IG* XII (2). 511). G. Bovini's account of Roman portraiture from Trebonianus Gallus to Probus includes<sup>574</sup> a Melian bust dedicated by the περιβώμιοι (XII (3). 1126); O. A. W. Dilke considers<sup>575</sup> the evidence for προεδρία in the theatre at Melos, where also an archaic stele has come to light.<sup>576</sup> A. Ferrua's examination<sup>577</sup> of the ἀγγελοι of Thera (cf. *JHS* LXII. 71) I have not seen. In a posthumous article on the foundation of the Pergamene Nicephoria M. Segre edits<sup>578</sup> a new fragment of the letter of Eumenes II to Cos (Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, 50), restores the text and shows its importance for the successive phases of the institution of the Nicephoria, founded after the naval victory of Chios in 201 B.C. Robert adds<sup>579</sup> comments on and photographs of a Coan gladiatorial mosaic previously described in his *Gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, 191 f. I call attention to the valuable summaries<sup>580</sup> by J. and L. Robert of the Coan and Calymnian articles by Herzog, Segre and Laurenzi mentioned in my previous bibliography (*JHS* LXVII. 115).

At Naxos a fifth-century stele inscribed Ἀρτέμιδος Τεμενίης has been found.<sup>581</sup> The 'Parian Marble' (*IG* XII (5). 444), of which M. N. Tod gives<sup>582</sup> a brief account, affords evidence to T. J. Cadoux<sup>583</sup> in his study of the earlier Attic archons and to V. Beshevliev<sup>584</sup> in his essay on Greek colonization in the North, while O. Rubensohn's article on Paros in *RE* XVIII. 1781 ff. makes full use of the relevant epigraphical sources. The excavation of Siphnos, described by J. K. Brock and G. M. Young, unearthed<sup>585</sup> nine stamped amphora-handles, some graffiti on pottery, two glass beakers and a bone counter bearing the Greek and Roman signs for 8. Among the texts copied by F. Vernon in 1675 are two<sup>586</sup> from Cythnos (Thermia), one of them a dedication to θεὸς ὕψιστος, G. Klaffenbach offers<sup>587</sup> a revised version of ll. 14-18 of the fifth-century *lex de funeribus* from Iulis on Ceos (*IG* XII (5). 593), and A. Wilhelm adds<sup>588</sup> a fragment to another inscription from the same site (*ibid.* 596). F. de Visscher comments<sup>589</sup> on a document from Syros (*ibid.* 654) relative to the punishment of slaves, I. I. Russu calls attention<sup>590</sup> to the Thracian name [Δο]λήζεμης in an Andrian epitaph (*ibid.* 774), and H. van Effenterre studies<sup>591</sup> the decrees of Cretan cities recognizing the ἀσουλία of the Poseidon temple at Tenos (*ibid.* 867-9), assigning the latter part of 868A to Axos and that of 868B to Aptara.

N. M. Kontoleon re-edits<sup>592</sup> the Chian decree recently published by D. W. S. Hunt (cf. *JHS* LXVII. 115) and deals<sup>593</sup> with what remains of a metrical epitaph on the 'Dancers' Stele' in the Chios Museum. L. Robert discusses<sup>594</sup> three votive epigrams from the Samian Heraeum, two of which (*SEG* I. 405; cf. W. Peek, *AM* LXVI. 78) he assigns to two governors in the reign of Julian, Aedesius and Plutarchus (who may be the son of the like-named proconsul of Asia), while the third (Peek, *ibid.* 76 f.), dating from the same period,

<sup>567</sup> *Symb. Oslo*. XXVI. 78 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 130 f.

<sup>568</sup> *Hellenica*, II. 125 f.

<sup>569</sup> *Lindos*, II, p. 312.

<sup>570</sup> *TAPA* LXXVII. 35 ff.; cf. *REG* LXI. 143.

<sup>571</sup> *Riv Fil* LXXIV. 104 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 131.

<sup>572</sup> *Ant Class* XVI. 105 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 131.

<sup>573</sup> *Harv. Theol. Rev.* XLI. 156.

<sup>574</sup> *MA* XXXIX. 309 ff. <sup>575</sup> *BSA* XLIII. 183.

<sup>576</sup> *JHS* LXVI. 115 f., *BCH* LXXI-II. 440.

<sup>577</sup> \**Orient. Christ. Period.* XIII. 149 ff.

<sup>578</sup> *Hellenica*, V. 102 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 131 f.

<sup>579</sup> *Ibid.* 98 f. <sup>580</sup> *REG* LXI. 184 ff.

<sup>581</sup> *JHS* LXVI. 115, *BCH* LXXI-II. 440, *Fasti arch.* I.

<sup>582</sup> *OCD* 539.

<sup>583</sup> *JHS* LXVIII. 71 f., 83 ff.

<sup>584</sup> *Belomorski Pregled*, I. 169.

<sup>585</sup> *BSA* XLIV. 66 f., 73 f., 85 ff.

<sup>586</sup> Meritt, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 217.

<sup>587</sup> *Philol* XCVII. 372 f.

<sup>588</sup> See above, p. 31.

<sup>589</sup> *Le régime romain de la noxalité*, 439 n. 30.

<sup>590</sup> *Ann. Mus. Nat. Plovdiv*, I. 59; cf. *REG* LXII. 132.

<sup>591</sup> *La Crète et le monde grec*, 135 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 134.

<sup>592</sup> *Rev Phil* XXIII. 9 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 132 f.

<sup>593</sup> *BCH* LXXI-II. 277 f.

<sup>594</sup> *Hellenica*, IV. 55 ff., 101 f.; cf. *REG* LXII. 133, E. Groag, *Reichsbeamten von Achaia in spätröm. Zeit.*, 59 f.



commemorates the justice of another governor, Gregorius. He also examines <sup>595</sup> an epigram (*IGR* IV. 967) relating to the construction of an aqueduct and fountain, denies <sup>596</sup> the Christian character of a late Samian inscription (*AM* LIV. 137) set up by οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, and discusses <sup>597</sup> a third-century decree of Heraclea (*IG* XII (7). 509) banning the introduction of goats to the islet, on economic rather than religious grounds, in which he substitutes in l. 1 Ἡρακλέα for Δία.

M. Segre emphasizes <sup>598</sup> the lamentable dispersion of the inscriptions of LEMNOS, draws up a list of published texts now in Lemnos and Mytilene, and edits nineteen for the first time, five from Myrina, eleven from Hephaestia and three of uncertain origin, among them a sixth-century ὄρος of the precinct of Artemis, the earliest extant inscription of the island (no. 4), a metrical epitaph of the late fifth century (no. 7), and an archaic mortgage-deed, the earliest surviving example of a πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει (no. 11); the other Lemnian members of this class (*IG* XII (8). 18-22) are examined <sup>599</sup> by I. A. Meletopoulos. M. Falkner studies <sup>600</sup> archaeologically and epigraphically the non-Hellenic 'Lemnian Stele' (*ibid.* 1). J. Pouilloux publishes three inscriptions from THASOS, the dedication, <sup>601</sup> dating from the fourth or third century B.C., by an Olynthian πρόξενος of a 'tower', exedra and statue, the record of a gift to the city of a συνοικία καὶ τὰ ἐργαστήρια between 150 and 100 B.C., and an epitaph <sup>602</sup> on a relief portraying a λαμπαδηδρόμος, examining the epigraphical references to a torch-race at the Thasian festival of the Heraclea. R. Martin edits <sup>603</sup> the inscription on the base (350-338 B.C.) of a statue of a citizen victorious with the συνορίς at the Pythia, signed by the Athenian sculptor Praxias, which illustrates the Thasian devotion to horses and the importance of the συνορίς at the Pythia, where it was introduced in 398. Other finds are reported <sup>604</sup> and await publication, while *IG* XII Suppl. 355 has been rediscovered. <sup>605</sup> G. Mihailov's collection of epigrams 'aus bulgarischen Ländern' includes <sup>606</sup> twenty-three poems from Thasos (nos. 149-71), all of them in *IG* XII (8), while an article by V. Beshevliev and Mihailov deals <sup>607</sup> with fourteen Thasian reliefs (nos. 54-67), five of which bear Greek inscriptions, one (no. 60) previously unpublished. G. Daux re-examines <sup>608</sup> two Thasian laws regulating the wine-trade (*IG* XII Suppl. 347), dating them in the last quarter of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century; he also discusses the dates of the Heracles-ritual (*ibid.* 414) and the Louvre reliefs (*IG* XII (8). 358), commenting (pp. 249 ff.) on the text of the former and of other Thasian inscriptions. L. Robert starts <sup>609</sup> from the epitaph (*IG* XII Suppl. 453) of a [πο]μήν (so he emends the ἡμην of l. 4) in his inquiry into the epigraphical evidence for Greek shepherds and goatherds, and through him I learn of F. Sokolowski's article <sup>610</sup> on the Heracles-cult. I. I. Russu reads <sup>611</sup> Σαβήρος in an epitaph of Roman times (*A Delt* II, παρ. 11), an emendation already suggested by H. Nesselhauf (*IG* XII Suppl. 500). For an Eretrian epitaph, *IG* XII (9). 860, see above (p. 33).

[*IG* XIII.] In *La Crète et le monde grec de Platon à Polybe* <sup>612</sup> H. van Effenterre freely uses epigraphical sources (indexed on pp. 236 f.), notably those from Tenos (see above) and Olus (see below). M. Guarducci examines <sup>613</sup> the relations between Crete and Delphi, especially in early times, and K. Latte pays close attention to inscriptions from Drerus (*ICret* I. ix. 1. 123 ff.) and Gortyn (*SGDI* 4985, 4993, *Riv Fil* LVIII. 471 ff.) in discussing <sup>614</sup> collective property and state treasure in Greece. L. H. Jeffery deals <sup>615</sup> with the letter Φ, Eteocretan rather than Dorian, in Cretan inscriptions, recurring in an archaic epitaph of Sicinus (*IG* XII Suppl. 178) and in the Lemnian and Phrygian alphabets. B. D. Theophrastides publishes <sup>616</sup> nine epitaphs of the fourth or fifth century A.D., most or all from Καστέλλι Κισάμου in W. Crete, a medieval Christian epitaph from Polyrrenia (p. 30), a fragment of a statue-base of Septimius Severus from Cantanus (pp. 32 f.), <sup>617</sup> and a mutilated dedication from Hyrtacina (p. 38).

<sup>595</sup> *Hellenica*, IV. 66 ff.

<sup>596</sup> *Ibid.* 71 n. 3.

<sup>597</sup> *Hellenica*, VII. 161 ff.

<sup>598</sup> *Ann.* XV-XVI. 289 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 133 f.

<sup>599</sup> Πολύμνος, IV. 68 f.

<sup>600</sup> W. Brandenstein, *Frühgeschichte u. Sprachwissenschaft*, 91 ff.

<sup>601</sup> *BCH* LXXI-II. 262 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 134.

<sup>602</sup> *Mél. Picard*, 847 ff.

<sup>603</sup> *Ibid.* 705 ff.

<sup>604</sup> *BCH* LXXI-II. 457, *JHS* LXVII. 40.

<sup>605</sup> *BCH* LXXI-II. 457.

<sup>606</sup> *Jahrb. Sofia*, XI. 23 ff.

<sup>607</sup> *Belomorski Pregled*, I. 339 ff.

<sup>608</sup> *Mél. Picard*, 241 ff.

<sup>609</sup> *Hellenica*, VII. 152 ff.

<sup>610</sup> *Maeander*, III. 293 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 134.

<sup>611</sup> *Dacia*, XI-XII. 270.

<sup>612</sup> Paris, 1948; cf. *REG* LXII. 134 f.

<sup>613</sup> *\*Stud. e Mat* XIX-XX. 85 ff.

<sup>614</sup> *\*Gött. Nachr.* 1946-7, 64 ff.; cf. *REG* LXI. 140 f.

<sup>615</sup> *Κρητ. Χρον.* III. 143 ff.

<sup>616</sup> *AE* 1942-4, ἀρχ. χρον. 13 ff.; six of these are *I Cret* II. viii. 2. 8-12. Cf. *\*Επετ. Κρητ. Σπουδών*, I. 604 ff., III. 484 f.

<sup>617</sup> For *I Cret* II. vi. 6 (Cantanus) cf. *Mél. Picard*, 848.



N. Platon traces <sup>618</sup> the modern name Χανιά back to the ancient Ἀλχανία, found in one copy of a document from Cydonia (*ICret* II. x. 1. 23 = *SIG* 940. 23). For the fifth-century pact between Cnosus and Tylissus see above, p. 34. Platon edits <sup>619</sup> a long and puzzling *lex sacra* of the second or first century B.C., found in the outskirts of Cnosus; it begins with οἱ ἐπίλυκοι, followed by six names and patronymics, and bars from the temple precincts τὸς ἀφεταίρος καὶ Ἀσσυρίας, ending with an enigmatic passage in which the phrase τὰ κατάλοιπα εἶναι μελησεῖ occurs twice, a κιθαριστάς is named, and the due performance of duties is urged. M. Guarducci examines <sup>620</sup> the references in archaic inscriptions of Gortyn to payment, reckoned in tripods, lebetes and obols, which she regards as utensils used as money, comparing, *inter alia*, the bundles of spits from the Argive Heraeum, Rhodopis' dedication at Delphi (*Hdt.* II. 135) and the Perachora drachma-inscription. L. Robert interprets <sup>621</sup> epigrams of Gortyn commemorating Leontius, praetorian prefect of Illyricum in A.D. 412-3 (*Riv. Ist. Arch.* I. 176), and Marcellinus, a fourth-century governor of Crete praised for his εὐδικία καὶ ἀρωγή (*ibid.* 151; cf. 175), as also <sup>622</sup> the prose inscription on the statue-base of yet another governor, Oecumenius Dositheus Asclepiodotus, erected παρὰ τὴν Δίκην (*ibid.* 169). V. Georgiev claims <sup>623</sup> that the archaic text from Drerus regarded by H. van Effenterre as Eteocretan (cf. *JHS* LXVII. 117) is a Greek dedication of a goatherd and cheesemaker in honour of Hermes, but his reasoning is criticized and his conclusion rejected <sup>624</sup> by M. Lejeune. H. van Effenterre publishes <sup>625</sup> a fragmentary treaty between Olus and Rhodes, which he dates near the close of 201 B.C., a decree of Olus relative to the withdrawal of a Rhodian garrison, and another, engraved on the same base, granting the titles of πρόξενος καὶ εὐεργέτης to a Chian. Robert connects <sup>626</sup> the phrase Νίκη Ῥωμαίων in an epigram from Olus (*ICret* I. xxii. 13) for Asclepiodotus, governor of Crete between A.D. 382 and 384, with Gratian's removal of the altar of Victoria from the Senate House in 382 and the deep resentment caused thereby, and M. Guarducci dates <sup>627</sup> in 114 B.C. at the earliest the war between Olus and Lato referred to in documents found near the latter city (*REA* XLIV. 32 ff.). H. van Effenterre supports, <sup>628</sup> against Guarducci (cf. *JHS* LXV. 90), the view of F. Chapouthier that the graffiti on the rocks of Prasonisi islet, to which he adds an early Christian example, were not the idle amusements of *flâneurs*, but expressions of gratitude to heaven for escape from the perils of the sea; J. and L. Robert point out <sup>629</sup> the difficulties of such a view. G. Björck suggests <sup>630</sup> restorations of epigrams from Itanus (*ICret* III. iv. 39) and Hierapytna (*ibid.* iii. 50), and Robert claims <sup>631</sup> another mutilated epigram from the latter site (*ibid.* iii. 51) as commemorating a gladiator. To the Eteocretan inscriptions of Praesus (*ibid.* vi. 1-5) P. Kretschmer devotes <sup>632</sup> two important articles.

## VII. WESTERN EUROPE

T. J. Dunbabin's important work <sup>633</sup> on the Western Greeks down to 480 B.C. utilizes the available epigraphical materials, disappointingly meagre, among them the dedication of the Syracusan Apollonion (*IG* XIV. 1) on p. 59, the sixth-century homicide law of a Chalcidian colony near Leontini (Arangio-Ruiz and Olivieri, *Inscr. gr. Sic. ad ius pert.* 171 ff.) on p. 128, the famous fifth-century victory-memorial of Selinus (*IG* XIV. 268 = *GHI* 37) on p. 304, the bronze double axe from S. Agata (*IG* XIV. 643) on p. 157, an archaic t.c. pyramid with Achaean script from S. Mauro Forte (*ibid.* 652) on p. 151, and a still unpublished dedication of the athlete Phayllus to Zeus Meilichios at Croton on p. 85.

In his 'Anthology of early Christian inscriptions of Sicily' <sup>634</sup> A. Ferrua deals with a large number of Greek and a few Latin texts, almost all of them epitaphs now in the Syracuse Museum. The great majority were previously unknown, but many inscriptions edited by Orsi, Barreca, Strazzulla and others are here more fully or more correctly presented; the eleven Greek inscriptions dated by the names of consuls range from A.D. 349 to 447. Other-

<sup>618</sup> *Kρητ. Χρον.* I. 239 ff.; cf. \**Επετ. Κρητ. Σπουδων.* III. 227 ff., *REG* LXII. 135.

<sup>619</sup> *Kρητ. Χρον.* II. 93 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 135 f. In II. 10-11 I suggest Σκοπελατικὴν in place of Σκοπελαίτι καὶ.

<sup>620</sup> *Riv. Fil.* LXXII-III. 171 ff.

<sup>621</sup> *Hellenica*, IV. 14 ff., 89 ff.

<sup>622</sup> *Rev. Phil.* XXI. 132 ff.; cf. *REG* LXI. 192 f.

<sup>623</sup> *REA* XLIX. 274 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 136.

<sup>624</sup> *Op. cit.* (n. 353), 226 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 134 f.

<sup>625</sup> *Hellenica*, IV. 103 ff.

<sup>626</sup> *Epigraphica*, IX. 32 ff.

<sup>627</sup> *REG* LXII. 136 f.

<sup>628</sup> *REA* L. 55 ff.

<sup>629</sup> *Eranos*, XLVI. 74 f.; cf. *REG* LXII. 137 f.

<sup>630</sup> *Hellenica*, III. 116 no. 306.

<sup>631</sup> *Glotta*, XXXI. 1 ff., 127, *Wien Anz* 1946, 81 ff.; cf. *Fasti arch.* I. 699.

<sup>632</sup> *The Western Greeks*, Oxford, 1948.

<sup>633</sup> *Rendic. Pont. Acc.* XXII. 227 ff.



wise SYRACUSE is represented by the metrical epitaph of a doctor of the second century A.D., edited <sup>635</sup> by M. Guarducci, a group of texts <sup>636</sup> found by L. Brea in pagan and Christian catacombs, including a pagan epitaph of a certain Ὑσπληξ, a votive to Zeus and Tyche, and some *tituli memoriales* from the catacombs of S. Giovanni, and graffiti on an amphora and a b.f. crater published <sup>637</sup> by G. Cultrera. Guarducci offers <sup>638</sup> a new reading of the dedication of the temple of Apollo (*IG XIV. 1*), which, she holds, refers to the whole building, not to some part of it, and distinguishes the work of two sculptors; temple and inscription she dates in the first half of the sixth century B.C. P. Griffo publishes <sup>639</sup> an inscribed lekythos from Leontini, A. Vogliano gives <sup>640</sup> a revised text of an interesting amulet from Acrae (*IG XIV. 2413* (17)) with a German commentary by K. Preisendanz, G. P. Carratelli edits <sup>641</sup> an archaic epigram from Comiso, on the borders of the territory of Camarina, and G. V. Gentili <sup>642</sup> a graffito from Gela, which he assigns to the sixth century B.C. C. Mercurelli's account of the early Christian period at Agragas includes <sup>643</sup> some minor epigraphical texts from that site, and also a fragment (*ibid.* 261) from Licata-Phintias. A. Vogliano discusses <sup>644</sup> an inscribed leaden tablet of doubtful authenticity, said to have been found at Selinus, and L. B. Brea reports <sup>645</sup> the discovery at Centuripa of eight Rhodian amphora-stamps, and at Lipara of nine epitaphs, <sup>646</sup> most of them engraved on blocks of lava, and gives <sup>647</sup> photographs of two epitaphs from the island of Salina.

I pass now to ITALY. P. C. Sestieri comments <sup>648</sup> on a previously known vase from Metapontum inscribed τῆς Ἡέ[ρας εἰμί], and two lamps unearthed at Tarentum bear <sup>649</sup> the maker's name. M. Della Corte publishes <sup>650</sup> 416 'inscriptions' from Pompeii, of which fifty-eight are Greek; fifty-five of these are painted or stamped on amphorae or other vases, two are graffiti, and one is on a lamp (p. 110) representing an old man reading a scroll inscribed ΑΒΓΔ. Three fragments (one agonistic, two Christian of the sixth or seventh century) have been found <sup>651</sup> in the church of S. Lorenzo Maggiore at Naples. C. C. Torrey discusses <sup>652</sup> an inscription of A.D. 79 from Puteoli (*OGI* 594) referring to a party of Phoenicians who had come from Tyre, and seeks to restore and interpret it by aid of a new find from Phoenicia (below, p. 53). The mysterious poem relating to Velea, found at Ardea but now lost (cf. *JHS* LXVII. 118), has evoked much interest and comment. J. Keil sees <sup>653</sup> in it a satirical composition directed at the captive prophetess and protesting against her mild treatment. A. Wilhelm accepts <sup>654</sup> in the main Keil's restoration and interpretation of the poem as a *Spottgedicht*, but reads in l. 1 τί σε δεῖ for τίς εἶδε, restores in l. 2 [Μάρκε] or some such name, in l. 3 [ξανθῆς], and in the last line [σοι] instead of [νῦν], regarding it as a reference not to Velea's punishment but to the discovery of some useful task to occupy her time. J. and L. Robert reject <sup>655</sup> these explanations, holding that 'on ne peut expliquer cette inscription qu'en y voyant un oracle relatif à Velea, à la suite duquel sans doute elle aurait vécu dans le sanctuaire d'Ardée comme une sorte de hiérodoule'. Finally, E. Des Places, aided by L. Robert and others, gives <sup>656</sup> a restored text and a translation, regarding the metre as Hipponactean rather than dactylic hexameter (as Guarducci) or Sapphic hendecasyllable (as Keil), and denying that the oracle, if oracle it be, can be Delphic. C. Picard's article <sup>657</sup> on the iconography of Hippocrates takes account of the inscribed herm found in a grave on the Isola Sacra, near Ostia, and the portrait-bust assigned to it by Becatti (cf. *JHS* LXVII. 118), R. Paribeni publishes <sup>658</sup> a grave-cippus of a sophist, Νικομηδεὺς καὶ Ἐφέσιος and Roman citizen, erected at Ostia by a μουσικός who was his client and θρεπτός, and G. Jacopi <sup>659</sup> eight Greek or bilingual epitaphs from Pietra Papa, near Porto, while S. Eitrem comments <sup>660</sup> on the ὦδε Πανσίλυπος of a mosaic found <sup>661</sup> in a tomb in the same neighbourhood. W. Seston repeats <sup>662</sup> the text of the tomb-epigram of Eutyches from Domitian's Alban Villa (cf. *JHS*

<sup>635</sup> *NS* 1940, 225 f.; for πᾶσιν I would read πάντων (= πᾶσιν).

<sup>636</sup> *NS* 1947, 177 f., 202 f., 210 ff.

<sup>637</sup> *NS* 1943, 52, 71. <sup>638</sup> *Arch. Class.* I. 4 ff.

<sup>639</sup> *NS* 1941, 126 f.; the editor reads Ἀπρίστον Ἀπρίστο[ς], but to me a repeated Ἀπρίστον seems more probable.

<sup>640</sup> *Acme*, I. 73 ff.; cf. Eitrem, *Symb. Oslo*. XXVII. 145 f.

<sup>641</sup> *NS* 1942, 321 ff. <sup>642</sup> *Epigraphica*, VIII. 11 ff.

<sup>643</sup> *Mem. Pont. Acc.* VIII. 61, 90, 93, 98.

<sup>644</sup> *Acme*, I. 243 ff. <sup>645</sup> *NS* 1947, 298; cf. 251.

<sup>646</sup> *Ibid.* 217 ff. <sup>647</sup> *Ibid.* 220 f.

<sup>648</sup> *NS* 1940, 51.

<sup>649</sup> C. Drago, *NS* 1940, 322, L. B. Brea, *ibid.* 434.

<sup>650</sup> *NS* 1946, 84 ff.

<sup>651</sup> A. de Franciscis, *NS* 1947, 111 ff.

<sup>652</sup> *Berytus*, IX. 45 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 148.

<sup>653</sup> *Wien Anz* 1947, 185 ff.; cf. *Anz. f. Altertumsw.* I. 63 f., *REA* XLIX. 377 f., *CRAI* 1948, 136 ff., *REG* LXII. 160 f.

<sup>654</sup> *Wien Anz* 1948, 151 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 161.

<sup>655</sup> *REG* LXI. 211, LXII. 161.

<sup>656</sup> *REG* LXI. 381 ff.; cf. LXII. 161.

<sup>657</sup> *CRAI* 1947, 317 ff., esp. 323 ff.; cf. *REG* LXI. 212.

<sup>658</sup> *NS* 1944-5, 79 f.; cf. *REG* LXII. 160.

<sup>659</sup> *MA* XXXIX. 141 ff. <sup>660</sup> *Symb. Oslo*. XXVI. 167 f.

<sup>661</sup> G. Calza, *La necropoli del Porto di Roma*, 169, 311.

<sup>662</sup> *Hommages à J. Bidez et F. Cumont*, 313 ff.



LXVII. 118) and discusses the view of heroization there presented. D. M. Robinson describes <sup>663</sup> a fragment of a new Orpheus-relief in the Robinson Collection, University of Mississippi, acquired in Rome, but said to have been found near Tarquinii, a copy, made in the first or second century A.D., of a fifth-century Greek original, and A. Degraffi reports <sup>664</sup> the discovery in the Forum Boarium of a bone *tessera* inscribed  $\text{III ΠΤΕΡΑ Γ}$ . E. Will deals <sup>665</sup> anew with the  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$  of the Gaionas-inscription (*CIL* VI.36804; cf. *IG* XIV. 1512) supporting Gauckler's interpretation against that of Cumont (cf. *JHS* LXV. 91), A. Wilhelm substitutes <sup>666</sup>  $\alpha\upsilon\tau' \alpha(\phi)\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  for  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  in a metrical epitaph (*IG* XIV. 1977), L. Robert comments <sup>667</sup> on another epitaph (*Bull. Comm. Arch.* LXVII. 20) with special reference to the title  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\tau\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$   $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\delta\omega\upsilon\alpha\iota$  'Ασῆς, O. Weinreich republishes, <sup>668</sup> with translation and commentary, the Roman epigram (*IG* XIV. 2124) on an unknown pantomime, and G. Bovini discusses <sup>669</sup> a painted epitaph from the Cemetery of Pamphilus. M. M. Vianello publishes <sup>670</sup> a grave-epigram from Cures in the Sabine territory, L. D. Marcon's account of the inscriptions in the Museo Moscardo at Verona includes <sup>671</sup> *IG* XIV. 2306, 2308, P. L. Zovatto examines <sup>672</sup> four Christian epitaphs of  $\nu\epsilon\omicron\phi\omega\tau\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\iota$  from Concordia (*ibid.* 2325-6, 2328, 2334), C. Corbato discusses <sup>673</sup> the epitaph of a *mima* at Aquileia (*ibid.* 2342), and J. Guey, in his account of the 'miraculous rainfall' which rescued M. Aurelius in 172, deals <sup>674</sup> with the person and career of Harnouphis, priest and wonder-worker, of whom an epigraphical memento survives at Aquileia (cf. *JHS* LXVII. 119).

From the western provinces of the Empire I have little to note. W. Vollgraff defends <sup>675</sup> the genuineness of an inscription from Dijon (*IG* XIV. 370\*), claiming as Iranian the suspected name Chyndonax, and H. Rolland calls attention <sup>676</sup> to a series of masons' marks at Massilia. R. P. Wright announces <sup>677</sup> the discovery of a gold ring with inscribed sardonix at Keynsham and of a graffito on silver platters from Mildenhall, Suffolk, giving the owner's name as  $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\eta\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , possibly the Armenian eunuch who was *praepositus sacri cubiculi* under Julian in Gaul, A.D. 355-61. M. K. Kubinyi describes <sup>678</sup> a silver amulet, now in the Budapest Museum, found in a grave in the Roman cemetery of Ságvár, bearing Latin and Greek words and various magical symbols.

### VIII. ASIA MINOR

The foremost contributor to Anatolian epigraphy has been L. Robert; it is significant that of the forty-nine items in the relevant section of the 1949 'Bulletin' no fewer than thirty-five deal wholly or mainly with *Hellenica*, IV, V, VI. <sup>679</sup> I indicate briefly the contents of these volumes relative to Asia Minor, referring to the 'Bulletin' <sup>680</sup> for a more adequate summary. *Hellenica* IV deals almost exclusively, mainly from the standpoints of phraseology and prosopography, with epigrams of the third and later centuries A.D., especially (pp. 35 ff.) those commemorating the characters and achievements of provincial governors. These include epigrams from Aphrodisias honouring Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, praetorian prefect A.D. 388-92 (pp. 23, 42, 47 ff.; unpublished), Asclepiodotus, father-in-law of the like-named philosopher of Alexandria (pp. 115 ff.; on *CIG* 2851), Rhodopaeus, Hermias, Eugenius and Menander, who in different ways had been generous benefactors of the state (pp. 127 ff.; unpublished); <sup>681</sup> from Tralles, extolling Montius, proconsul of Asia, builder of an aqueduct (pp. 112 f.; on *REA* XI. 296 ff.); from Miletus, relative to the Thermae (pp. 129 f., 134; on *Milet*, I (9). 339, 341); from Ephesus, in honour of the proconsuls Andreas, likened to 'Minos or Lycurgus or Solon', an Egyptian native, and Nonnus,  $\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\sigma\iota\omega\alpha\iota$   $\pi\tau\omicron\lambda\iota\omega\alpha\iota$   $\sigma\omicron\phi\omicron\alpha\iota$   $\eta\gamma\epsilon\mu\omicron\eta\tau\alpha$  (pp. 21, 43 f., 98; on *Wien Anz* 1942, 193 ff.) and Messalinus,  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\eta\varsigma$  'Ασῆς  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\alpha\iota$   $\iota\theta\upsilon\alpha\iota$   $\tau\eta\rho\alpha$  (pp. 87 ff.; on *Ephesos*, II. 43, 44); <sup>682</sup> from Sardis, lauding the integrity of Acholius, vicarius of the diocese of Asia (pp. 34 ff., 149 ff.; on *Sardis*, VII (1). 83); <sup>683</sup> from Hypaepa,

<sup>663</sup> *Hommages à J. Bidez et F. Cumont*, 303 ff.

<sup>664</sup> *Doxa*, II. 135; cf. \*G. Lugli, *Monumenti minori del Foro Romano*, 151, 163.

<sup>665</sup> *Syria*, XXVI. 166 ff.; cf. S. M. Savage, *Mem Am Ac* XVII. 36 ff.

<sup>666</sup> *Op. cit.* (n. 32), 683.

<sup>667</sup> *Hellenica*, III. 122 ff.

<sup>668</sup> *SB Heidelberg*, 1944-8 (1). 73 ff.

<sup>669</sup> *MA XXXIX*. 319 f.

<sup>670</sup> *NS* 1944-5, 32 f.; cf. *REG* LXII. 161 f.

<sup>671</sup> *Epigraphica*, IX. 107 f.

<sup>672</sup> *Epigraphica*, VIII. 84 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 160.

<sup>673</sup> *Dioniso*, X. 188 ff.

<sup>674</sup> *Rev Phil* XXII. 16 ff., esp. 19 f. *Mél. Rome*, LX. 124 f.; cf. *REG* LXII. 159 f.

<sup>675</sup> *CRAI* 1948, 278.

<sup>676</sup> *CRAI* 1946, 303 ff.; cf. *REG* LXI. 211.

<sup>677</sup> *JRS* XXXVIII. 102.

<sup>678</sup> *Arch. Értesítő*, VII-IX. 276 ff.

<sup>679</sup> Paris, 1948.

<sup>680</sup> *REG* LXII. 138 ff.; cf. *RA* XXXIII (1949), 210 ff.

<sup>681</sup> For Aphrodisias see also pp. 14, 50 f., 127 f. For Didyma (*SEG* IV. 467) see *Hellenica*, VI. 119 f.

<sup>682</sup> For Ephesus see also p. 62. <sup>683</sup> Cf. *JHS* LXVII. 122.



commemorating the justice of Flavius Anthemides Isidorus, ἀνθυπάρχων μέγ' ἀμύνων (pp. 18 ff.; on Kaibel, *Epigr.* 903a); from the Thermae of Phazimon in Pontus, relative to Jovinus' embellishment of the baths (pp. 75 ff.; on *SEG* IV. 729); from Laodicea ad Lycum praising Constantinus, [ὁ]πατον καὶ ὑπαρχον ἀγῆτόν (pp. 45 ff.; on *MAMA* VI. 15) and Severus (pp. 88 ff.; on *AM* XXI. 470 f.), the latter for hydraulic services; and from Pisidian Antioch for similar benefits (pp. 64 ff.; on *SEG* VI. 560 f.). Robert also examines prose inscriptions from Clazomenae in honour of Caelius Montius (pp. 110 ff.; on *IGR* IV. 1554) and from Side for the aforementioned Tatianus (pp. 51 f.; on *CIG* 4350). In *Hellenica* V Robert comments (pp. 31 ff.) on the persons honoured in a group of inscriptions from Thyatira (*IGR* IV. 1214-18), offers (p. 31) a solution of a puzzle in a text from Nysa (*BCH* XIV. 224), interprets (pp. 59 ff.) the title 'Ελληνοδίκας in an inscription of Ephesus (*ÖJh* XXXVI. Beibl. 13 f.) as referring to Ephesian officials and examines the epigraphical evidence for 'Ελληνοδίκαι at Ephesus and in places other than Olympia, comments on texts from Side (pp. 74 ff.), dating from the third century A.D., mentioning an ἐπιβατήριον (*CIG* 4352-7, *BSA* XVII. 242), of which he gives a new interpretation, and adds to his list of gladiatorial monuments inscriptions of Satala, Casaba and Smyrna (pp. 78 ff.). In *Hellenica* VI J. and L. Robert jointly publish the results of a visit paid in 1946 to Manisa Museum, in which are collected antiquities from the whole vilayet, including Sardis, Philadelphia, Maeonia, Julia Gordus, Thyatira, and the Upper Caicus Valley. Among its contents are two inscriptions of Magnesia sub Sipylo (pp. 9 ff.), a Hellenistic dedication to Isis and Sarapis with a later list of θεραπευταί, and a revised text of an epitaph bearing a curse (*REG* XIII. 498); a new honorary inscription, dating from the second century B.C., of a Macedonian colony at Hyrcanis, and a late votive Μητρὶ θεοῦ καὶ Διὶ Σελευκῶν<sup>684</sup> ἑπτακοῦσαςσι, with remarks on previously published inscriptions of the site (pp. 16 ff.); a full account of Hierocaesarea and an edition or re-edition of fourteen inscriptions (pp. 27 ff.), viz. a δρος ἱερὸς ἀστυλο[ς] Ἀρτέμιδος (pp. 33 ff.), eight agonistic records (pp. 43 ff.), honorary and votive inscriptions (pp. 49 ff.), including one for [θεῶν Σύν]κλητον Ἐπιφ[ανῆ], altars of Ζεὺς Κτήσιος and Dionysus, and a sarcophagus portraying a cock-fight; a description (pp. 56 ff.) of the ancient sites of Sariçam (N. of Magnesia sub Sipylo) and the vicinity with comments on their inscriptions and two new and valuable documents, the closing words of an Imperial letter of Claudius' reign, and an honorary inscription erected by the villagers of Μοσχάκωμη; four inscriptions of Thyatira (pp. 70 ff.), including two *inedita*, a dedication to Augustus by his priest and a record honouring an agonothetes of the Σεβαστεῖος καὶ Τυρίμνηος πανηγυρίς, which demands a revision of texts previously known relative to this festival, notably *CIG* 3493; seven stones in the Manisa Museum from the Upper Caicus Valley (pp. 80 ff.), including three letters sent by Hadrian in 127 to Hadrianopolis-Stratonicea (*IGR* IV. 1156) and an unpublished dedication to Asclepius Σωτήρ; nine inscriptions of Julia Gordus and N.E. Lydia (pp. 89 ff.), four of which are new, including an interesting honorary text and epitaphs dated A.D. 203-4 (prose, but with poetic echoes), 47-8 (containing the new term of relationship τὸ κάμβειν) and 232 or 286 (from Daldis); four votives from Kula in Maeonia, of which a dedication Διὶ Τειμαίῳ, a confession Μητρὶ Ταλιμηνῇ and a dedication to Artemis Anaitis ἐπηκόω καὶ βοηθῶ πάντοτε γεγυμνασμένοι are new (in this connexion Robert re-edits *SEG* IV. 652), and a Sabazios-relief is reinterpreted (pp. 105 ff.); a new epitaph from Sardis<sup>685</sup> and a new edition of a decree of a guild, now known to be of Δίασταί, at Parsada (pp. 114 ff.); and an epitaph, perhaps from Daldis or Julia Gordus (pp. 117 ff.), dated in April, A.D. 263, of one who for six months had been a prisoner of 'the barbarians', no doubt the Gothic invaders of Anatolia. An index (pp. 123 ff.) of provenances of published inscriptions in the Manisa Museum is followed by three texts (pp. 126 ff.) copied by G. Radet in 1887, an epitaph and honorary inscription from the district of Magnesia sub Sipylo, of which the latter records the lavish provision of oil by a gymnasiarch ἐξ ὀλκε[ί]ων μεστῶν τοῖς νέοις καὶ γέρου[σι] καὶ παισὶ καὶ ἀπαλαίστρο[ις], and the epitaph, copied near Tepicik, of one who was χειλίαρχος, στεφανηφόρος, στρατηγός and ἀγορανόμος.

*Hellenica* VII,<sup>686</sup> the largest volume of the series, covers a wide and varied field, but the main emphasis falls on Asia Minor. The discovery at Nehavend of a letter from Antiochus III (see below, p. 54) calls for a reconsideration (pp. 5 ff.) of the much discussed 'Edict of Eriza',

<sup>684</sup> Cf. P. M. Fraser, *CR* LXIII. 92 ff.

<sup>685</sup> For Sardis see also p. 18.

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<sup>686</sup> Paris, 1949; the contents will be analysed in the 'Bulletin' for 1950.



found in 1884 at Dodurga in Phrygia (Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, 36, 37), the restoration of which is now practically complete and its date fixed as 193 B.C.<sup>687</sup> Three new inscriptions are published (pp. 30 ff.) from the region of Yalova in Bithynia,<sup>688</sup> a dedication Δει Βρονταῖω καὶ Δή[μη]τρι, an honorary decree of a guild of Βρονταῖοι, and an interesting, if fragmentary, inscription honouring a priest who served as agonothetes and gymnasiarch, and a group of stelae erected by the members, male and female, of a θίασος of Zeus at Trigli, near Mudania, is re-examined (pp. 41 ff.), as also a dedication θεῷ Σαβαζίῳ Πανσαγανῷ from Gebze in Bithynia (pp. 45 f.). The study of Anatolian deities, such as Κακασβος (cf. *JHS* LXVII. 120), the three σκληροὶ θεοί, Apollo Περμινουνδέων, Λερβηνός, Κρόνος and Pluto, is continued (pp. 50 ff.), a fourth-century decree of the Πελεκωδὸς συγγενεῖς from the temple of Sinuri, near Mylasa, is reconsidered in view of Wilhelm's suggestions (cf. *JHS* LXVII. 121), and comments are made on other texts from that site (pp. 59 ff.). The title τροφεύς, found on a coin of Synnada, is elucidated by inscriptions from Anatolia and elsewhere (pp. 74 ff.); an interesting agonistic record from Smyrna, dated ca. A.D. 160–80, receives its first edition and throws light on a fragment from Ephesus (*BMI* 613) and on several technical terms of athletics (pp. 105 ff.), and the festival of the Hyacinthotrophia, named in a fragment from Didyma, is assigned to Cnidus rather than to Miletus or Didyma, while an epigram of the second century B.C., engraved on the same stone, is published (pp. 114 ff.); an important victory-record of a Milesian runner (*Milet*, I (9). 369) is re-edited by the aid of another inscription of Didyma, here first published, relative to the same athlete, whose whole career, though not his name, we now know (pp. 117 ff.). Addenda to Robert's gladiatorial monuments include a fragmentary relief from Laodicea ad Lycum (p. 140), and it is shown (pp. 141 ff.) that a relief from Phrygian Hierapolis, now in Berlin, represents condemned men led to the circus. An admirably preserved dossier, found by G. E. Bean at Caunus and published by Robert (pp. 171 ff.), relates to the dispatch of Caunian judges to Smyrna and renders possible the restoration of Smyrnaean decrees for judges from Thasos and Astypalaea. Two inscriptions from Caunus refer to Ptolemais in Caria (Lebedus) and justify the restoration Κα[λύνδ]ωι in *Iv Magn* 59b 30 (pp. 189 ff.), and a bronze of Smyrna is explained (pp. 194 ff.) as 'une sorte de médaille d'identité'. An honorary inscription of Tarsus (*IGR* III. 883), recently republished by Ramsay (*Social Basis of Roman Power*, 298 ff.), is discussed (pp. 197 ff.), and a new edition of a Milesian document relating to the cult of Caligula (*Siebenter vorl. Bericht über Milet*, 65 f.) leads to an examination of the worship of that Emperor in Asia and of the *conventus* (διοικήσεις) of the province (pp. 206 ff.). Attention is called to two epigraphical references from Cibra to the transportation of statues (pp. 241 ff.), and Robert shows that the errors noted by Wilhelm (*CR* XLVIII. 210 f.) in a decree of Mylasa (*RA* II (1933). 38 f.) are due to the editor, not to the engraver (pp. 244 f.). Several chapters (VII–XI), though primarily numismatic, contain valuable epigraphical elements.

A. M. Mansel has compiled a full bibliography<sup>689</sup> of works published before 1940 relating to the archaeology, epigraphy and historical geography of Turkey, section IV of which deals with Greek and Latin inscriptions. C. Picard protests<sup>690</sup> against a passage<sup>691</sup> in which J. and L. Robert criticize his treatment of a Halicarnassian epigram; for another epigram (*IG* XII (1). 145), which may well belong to Halicarnassus, see above, p. 43. D. Calabi and A. Vogliano give an account,<sup>692</sup> based on the report and photographs published<sup>693</sup> by A. W. Persson, of the discoveries made by the Swedish excavators at Labranda, ten miles N. of Mylasa; these include a dedication of οἰκοὶ by Idrieus, the Carian dynast, and part of a letter from Olympichus, followed by one addressed to Olympichus by Philip V of Macedon. G. Jacopi's epigraphical finds<sup>694</sup> at Aphrodisias I know only through the summary by J. and L. Robert. In his essay<sup>695</sup> on the history of Apollonia and S.E. Thrace C. M. Danov examines the fourth-century pact of ἰσοπολιτεία between Miletus and Olbia (*SIG* 286 = *GHI* 195); T. J. Cadoux cites<sup>696</sup> the Milesian eponym-list among the *testimonia* in his article on the early Athenian archons. J. Keil shows,<sup>697</sup> by the aid of two unpublished texts, that the

<sup>687</sup> Cf. C. Clairmont, *Mus. Helv.* V. 218 ff.

<sup>688</sup> Cf. *REG* LXII. 144 f.

<sup>689</sup> \**Türkiyenin arkeoloji, epigrafi ve tarihi coğrafyası için bibliyografya*, Ankara, 1948; cf. *AJA* LIII. 202 f., *REG* LXI. 524 f., LXII. 138.

<sup>690</sup> *REG* LXI. 526.

<sup>691</sup> *REG* LXI. 196.

<sup>692</sup> *Acme*, I. 388 ff.

<sup>693</sup> \**MA* XXXVIII. 86 ff., 225 f.; cf. *REG* LXI. 194.

<sup>694</sup> *Bull. Soc. Hist. Bulg.* XXII–III. 180 ff.

<sup>695</sup> *JHS* LXVIII. 71 no. 10.

<sup>697</sup> \**Halil Edhem hâtıra Kitabı* (Ankara, 1947), 181 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 139.



building S.W. of the Agora at Ephesus unearthed in 1913 and 1926 is a temple of the Egyptian gods. O. A. W. Dilke deals <sup>698</sup> with the inscriptions indicating the occupants of certain blocks in the Ephesian theatre, and L. Robert adds <sup>699</sup> to his gladiatorial collection an honorary inscription from that city (*Ephesos*, II. 61 ii). D. W. S. Hunt examines <sup>700</sup> the nature of the πύργοι which figure in some inscriptions of Teos (*CIG* 3064, 3081, *BCH* IV. 174), and G. Klaffenbach suggests <sup>701</sup> new restorations in Antigonos' letter to the Teans (Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, 3). In an article on Θεᾶ Σίβυλλα R. Herbig restores <sup>702</sup> the inscription on a base at Erythrae and discusses two others (*AM* XVII. 17 ff. nos. 1, 2, 9). B. D. Meritt edits <sup>703</sup> three texts copied by F. Vernon at Smyrna in 1676, on one of which G. A. Stamires comments. <sup>704</sup> L. Robert discusses and illustrates <sup>705</sup> a confession-stele dedicated to Apollo Βοζηνός, found at Kula in Maeonia and now in Berlin, and A. Wilhelm interprets <sup>706</sup> two passages in the Ilian *lex de tyrannis* (*OGI* 218. 52 ff., 140 ff.), translating ἐπιγραφὴ (l. 56) by 'Auftrag zu irgendeiner Leistung', and substituting πράκτιμοι for ἄτιμοι (l. 140). In an addendum <sup>707</sup> to *Rev Phil* XIII (1939). 190 Robert traces the origin of a votive Δι' Ὀλβίῳ not to Kavak but to a second shrine of that god in Mysia, while in the dedication of an Asiarch at Adramyttium (*IGR* IV. 263) he restores <sup>708</sup> τὰς θεὰς φιλοτιμησάμενος and explains the phrase. C. B. Welles comments <sup>709</sup> on Feyel's treatment (*REA* XLII. 137 ff.) of a letter of Attalus found at Soma in the Upper Caicus Valley (Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, 47) and questions his restoration of l. 4. M. Segre discusses <sup>710</sup> the founding of the Nicephoria at Pergamum in the light of documents from Iasus and Cos, dating between 197 and 191 two celebrations of the local Nicephoria and the foundation of the penteteric festival, probably held more than once. E. V. Hansen uses some of the available epigraphical sources in her work *The Attalids of Pergamon*. <sup>711</sup> M. N. Tod reads <sup>712</sup> Δεσποίνῃσιν, not Δεσπότην, in a Cyzicene dedication, now in Oxford (*CIG* 3695).

F. K. Dörner's preliminary report <sup>713</sup> on a journey undertaken in 1948 in E. BITHYNIA includes, *inter alia*, an honorary inscription of A.D. 255-6 from Pompeiopolis for Salonina, Gallienus' wife, a base inscribed νέῳ θεῷ[1] Ἀντινῳ from Bithynium-Claudiopolis, a list of gymnasiarchs and agonothetae dedicated Διὶ Καουατρηνῷ, and many finds from the district of Prusias ad Hypium, among them an honorary inscription for a 'first archon' giving the names of φυλαί and φύλαρχοι, honours bestowed by two tribes on a δις τειμητήν, δις πρῶτον ἄρχοντα, an epitaph commemorating a συγγενῇ συνκλητικῶν καὶ ὑπατικῶν ἱππῶ δημοσίῳ τετειμημένον ἐξ ἱκονιστιῶνος. M. N. Tod discusses <sup>714</sup> a donation-list from Nicomedia (Dörner, *Inscripfen und Denkmäler*, 54 f.), but wrongly retains the editor's Ὀλόρου, which should be -οδώρου. <sup>715</sup> J. and L. Robert comment <sup>716</sup> further on the epitaph of a doctor, copied by Coval at Nicaea, and E. Bosch devotes an article (in Turkish) <sup>717</sup> to the festivals of that city, based mainly on its coins. Robert re-edits <sup>718</sup> the gravestone of a gladiator from Amasia (*CIG* 4175), and A. M. Schneider reports <sup>719</sup> from Sivas in Pontus a memorial inscription and a metrical epitaph.

The *Monumentum Ancyranum* continues to evoke discussion, mainly historical and juristic rather than textual. E. Schönbauer deals <sup>720</sup> with 'Die *Res gestae Divi Augusti* in rechtsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung'; E. Gabrici issues <sup>721</sup> volume I of his '*Acta Divi Augusti*'; G. P. Carratelli examines <sup>722</sup> the *auctoritas* of Augustus in the light of ch. 34. 3, and edits <sup>723</sup> the whole record; M. A. Levi analyses <sup>724</sup> the composition of the *Res gestae*, the model of which must, he argues, be sought in the great monumental inscriptions of the oriental monarchs, and concludes (p. 209) that we have here 'not the foundation of a dynasty, but the record of an exceptional personality'. F. Gottanka's article <sup>725</sup> on the Ancyran and Antiochene texts deals in detail with Markowski's restoration (*Eos*, XXXII. 347 ff.) and comments on other works relating to the *Res gestae*. O. Weinreich discusses <sup>726</sup> an epigram of Cotiaecum (*CIG* 3827s) on a

<sup>698</sup> *BSA* XLIII. 183 f.

<sup>699</sup> *Hellenica*, III. 124 f. For Ephesus see also *Hellenica*, VI. 40 ff.

<sup>700</sup> *JHS* LXVII. 68 ff.

<sup>701</sup> *Philol* XCVII. 179 f.; cf. *REG* LXI. 193 f.

<sup>702</sup> *JdI* LIX-LX. 144.

<sup>703</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII. 218.

<sup>704</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII. 352.

<sup>705</sup> *Symb. Oslo*. XXVII. 28 ff.

<sup>706</sup> *Hellenica*, III. 125 f.

<sup>707</sup> *Hellenica*, V. 102 ff.

<sup>708</sup> *AJP* LXX. 114 f.

<sup>709</sup> *Hellenica*, III. 61 n. 8.

<sup>710</sup> *Hellenica*, II. 152 f.

<sup>711</sup> *AJA* LII. 391.

<sup>712</sup> Cornell U.P., 1947.

<sup>713</sup> *Wien Anz* 1949. 224 ff.

<sup>714</sup> *Rev Phil* XVII (1943). 194 f., *REG* LXII. 145.

<sup>715</sup> *REG* LXI. 197.

<sup>716</sup> *Hellenica*, III. 117 ff.

<sup>717</sup> *SB Wien*, CCXXIV (2).

<sup>718</sup> Rome, 1946; cf. *NC* 1947. 94.

<sup>719</sup> *Parola del passato*, IV. 29 ff.

<sup>720</sup> *Imp. Caesar Augustus: index rerum a se gestarum*, Naples, 1947; cf. *Athenaeum*, XXVI. 266 ff.

<sup>721</sup> *Riv Fil* LXXV. 189 ff.

<sup>722</sup> *Philol* XCVI. 132 ff.

<sup>723</sup> *SB Heidelberg*, 1944-8 (1). 121 f.

<sup>714</sup> *AJP* LXX. 116 f.

<sup>715</sup> *REG* LXII. 145.

<sup>716</sup> *Belleten*, XII. 325 ff.

<sup>717</sup> *AA* 1944-5. 67 f.



certain Leonidas, possibly a pantomime, while a photograph <sup>727</sup> of another metrical epitaph of that city (Kaibel, *Epigr.* 363) shows that the text needs careful revision. J. Heurgon identifies <sup>728</sup> the [B]ονωνία ἢ ἐν Γαλλίᾳ, from which Tiberius sent a letter to Aezani (Dessau, *ILS* 9463), with Boulogne-sur-mer, and rejects the view that Boulogne was not called Bononia until the close of the third century A.D. R. Aigrain treats <sup>729</sup> a late record of the gift of a church and vegetable-garden at Sebaste (*SEG* VI. 180), and L. Robert describes and illustrates <sup>730</sup> a votive stele of Men 'Ασκαηνός from the same site (*JHS* IV. 417). G. M. Bersanetti discusses <sup>731</sup> the appointment of an equestrian governor of Lycia and Pamphylia, Terentius Marcianus, known from inscriptions of Termessus (*TAM* III (1). 89), Sagalassus (*IGR* III. 358) and Trebenna (*MA* XXIII. 214). E. Bosch and S. Atlan publish <sup>732</sup> thirty-four inscriptions found at or near Attalea (no. 5 is from Phaselis, no. 31 from Andeda), adding a general account of Roman Pamphylia. The texts comprise three dedications (nos. 1-3), honours paid to Emperors, high officials and benefactors (nos. 4-24), a building-inscription (no. 25) and nine epitaphs (nos. 26-34), among which nos. 13, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22 are of special interest; they should be read in conjunction with the summary and comments <sup>733</sup> of J. and L. Robert, who point out that nos. 5, 15, 17, 18, 32 and 34 were already published. J. H. Oliver, <sup>734</sup> independently of G. Pflaum, <sup>735</sup> restores [πρεσβευτήν 'Α]χάϊας in no. 21, and draws up the *stemma* of the family of the Calpurnii of Attalea, of which the person honoured is a member.

G. E. Bean publishes <sup>736</sup> sixteen inscriptions copied in September, 1946, in the Xanthus Valley, at Arsada (nos. 1-10), Araxa (nos. 11-15) and Cadyanda (no. 16); all are epitaphs or fragments except a sacrificial regulation (no. 3) and a long and historically valuable decree (no. 11) of the δῆμος and ἄρχοντες of Araxa honouring Orthagoras, an eminent citizen, for military, diplomatic, political and religious services rendered to his city and the Lycian League, and giving interesting details of conditions in Lycia in the late second or early first century B.C. A. Wilhelm examines <sup>737</sup> ll. 6-7 of an epitaph from Olympus (*TAM* II. 1037), substituting ὄρχους for οἴκους and τὸ ἐνηρ(ό)σιν for τὸ ἐν (μέ)ρεσιν, and rejecting the (πρὸς) inserted by the editor. For the Greek votives and epitaphs found by H. Bossert and Bahadir Alkim at or near Karatepe in Cilicia I refer to the critical summary <sup>738</sup> of J. and L. Robert. L. Robert also transcribes and annotates <sup>739</sup> a Christian epitaph from a Cappadocian village, the ancient Limnae, ending with the formula τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀναγινώσκων εὐξαστε ὑπὲρ ἑμοῦ +, and an apsidal mosaic from Erzincan in Armenia Minor, reported <sup>740</sup> by A. M. Schneider, bears the legend Κύριε, ἐλέησον Οὐαργανδούκτα, an Iranian name.

T. B. Mitford edits <sup>741</sup> sixteen new religious documents from Roman CYPRUS—the metrical dedication of a statue of Nemesis-Dikaio-syne (no. 1), eight votives to Ζεὺς Λαβράνιος (nos. 2-9) or Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος (no. 10), three to θεὸς ὑψίστος (nos. 11-13), one to Ὀπάων Μελάνθιος (no. 14), one perhaps to the Dioscuri (no. 15), and one (no. 16) recording the dedication, in A.D. 79 or 80, to Cyprian Aphrodite and the Emperor Titus of τὸ [ἐ]ρόν τῶν ἐντὸς [τ]ῶν στηλ[ῶν ἐπ]τά by the proconsul L. Bruttius Maximus, otherwise unknown; of these one (no. 2) comes from Khandria, 17 miles S.E. of Soli, eight from sites N.E. of Limassol (nos. 3-9, 11), and one (no. 16) from Agios Tychon, N. of Amathus; the provenance of the rest is unknown. Of special importance for the chronology of the syllabic script is Mitford's report <sup>742</sup> (to which P. Dikaio adds a short account of the site) on the inscribed pottery from Kafizin (some four miles S. of Nicosia, and nine N. of Idalium), whence came, as has recently been established, the bowl and twenty-eight sherds now in the University Museum of Philadelphia, published by E. H. Dohan and R. G. Kent in 1926 (*AJA* XXX. 249 ff., *SEG* VI. 838-40). These Mitford discusses, correcting the texts and dating them not in the first but in the third century B.C., as well as subsequently discovered inscriptions, both syllabic and alphabetic, now in the Cyprus Museum; he concludes that the latest datable example of the syllabic script belongs to 221-0 B.C., and that the puzzling word στρόφιγξ, frequently used on the sherds,

<sup>727</sup> *Belleten*, XII, pl. CLI and back.

<sup>728</sup> *REA* L. 101 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 143 f.

<sup>729</sup> *\*Orient. Christ. Period.* XIII. 18 ff.; cf. *REG* LXI. 196 f.

<sup>730</sup> *Hellenica*, III. 60 n. 3.

<sup>731</sup> *\*Aevum*, XIX. 384 ff.; cf. *REG* LXI. 197 f.

<sup>732</sup> *Belleten*, XI. 88 ff.

<sup>733</sup> *REG* LXI. 198 ff., LXII. 145.

<sup>734</sup> *AJP* LXIX. 437 f.; cf. *REG* LXII. 145.

<sup>735</sup> *REG* LXI. 202.

<sup>736</sup> *JHS* LXVIII. 40 ff.

<sup>737</sup> *Symb. Oslo*. XXVI. 89 f.; cf. *REG* LXII. 143.

<sup>738</sup> *REG* LXII. 146 f.

<sup>739</sup> *Hellenica*, II. 156; cf. *REG* LXI. 197.

<sup>740</sup> *AA* 1944-5, 80.

<sup>741</sup> *JHS* LXVI. 24 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 152 f.

<sup>742</sup> *Report of the Dept. of Antiquities, Cyprus*, 1937-9 (published 1949), 124 ff.



means a 'pointed hill'. Two new short syllabic inscriptions are recorded <sup>743</sup> by E. Gjerstad, who also discusses <sup>744</sup> the famous Idalion inscription (*GDI* 60) in his account of classical Cyprus. M. T. Mitsos holds <sup>745</sup> that a Paphian stone bearing the names Ἑρμιόνη and Ζευξώ (*JHS* IX. 245) was part of an exedra built by Polycrates of Argos (cf. *JHS* LXV. 94), and J. and L. Robert add <sup>746</sup> valuable comments on this and other Paphian inscriptions. L. Philippou publishes a 'metrical' epitaph from Hierocepsia (Yeroskipou), of which D. S. Robertson <sup>747</sup> offers a drastic revision, M. Guarducci uses <sup>748</sup> an inscription of Palaepaphos (LeBas-Wadd. 2795) to claim for Cyprus Κερελλαῖος μαντιάρχης, the reputed author of a distich recurrent in Greek epitaphs, A. R. Bellinger comments <sup>749</sup> on the letters of Antiochus written in 109 B.C. to Ptolemy Alexander and to Seleucia Pieria, found at Kouklia (Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, 71-2), and A. Rehm examines <sup>750</sup> the letter of 144 B.C. from Ptolemy VII Euergetes II to his troops in Cyprus (cf. *JHS* LIX. 277, LXVII. 124), making important changes of reading and restoration and eliminating Ptolemy's alleged 'son' (l. 27).

## IX. SYRIA AND PALESTINE

J. Lassus's work on the Christian churches of SYRIA deals <sup>751</sup> with a number of late inscriptions from Gerasa, Brad, Babisqa and elsewhere. D. Levi's exhaustive publication of the mosaic pavements unearthed at Antioch, of which some thirty-six are inscribed, includes <sup>752</sup> an epigraphical table and remarks on the development of the script, as well as references <sup>753</sup> to noteworthy mosaic inscriptions of Apamea, Gerasa, Beit Jibrin, Beisan and other sites. J. Obermann studies <sup>754</sup> a Christian inscription from the church of St. Simeon Stylites, J. Lauffray and R. Mouterde publish <sup>755</sup> two fourth-century epitaphs from Zebed, and L. Robert contributes <sup>756</sup> to the study of four metrical inscriptions from N. Syria—a tower-epigram from Temek (*PUAES* III. 829), bath-epigrams from Serdjillā and el-Anderin (*ibid.* 918, *Am. Exp. Syria*, III. 217), and the dedication of a church of the Martyrs at Anasarthā (*IGL Syrie*, 297). G. Klaffenbach discusses <sup>757</sup> the decree of Laodicea-ad-mare passed by the πελιγαῖνες in January, 174 B.C., emending its text and date and giving a new interpretation of ll. 22-5, and L. Robert deals <sup>758</sup> with some points of interest in an agonistic record from the same site (*IGR* III. 1012).

J. Starcky's account of recent discoveries at PALMYRA includes <sup>759</sup> a discussion of a second-century votive (*OGI* 634), and elsewhere, describing the Palmyrenian monuments of Baalshamim, he examines <sup>760</sup> the word συμπόσιον, found in four texts of Palmyra, two of which are here first published, and gives what is practically the first edition of an altar-dedication from Ma'ad τῷ κυρίῳ ἁγίῳ κὲ κυ[ρ]ίῳ ὄλου [τ]οῦ κόσ[μ]ου Σατρά[π]ι. A. Alt publishes <sup>761</sup> an acclamation from S.W. of Palmyra, the first epigraphical mention of the Ghassanid prince Arethas, who from about A.D. 529 to 569 ruled the Arabian tribes on the *limes* between the Euphrates and the Red Sea. The customs-tariffs of Palmyra (*OGI* 629 = *IGR* III. 1056) and Soada (*IGR* III. 1283) furnish <sup>762</sup> valuable materials for S. J. de Laet's study of *portoria*. V. Arangio-Ruiz re-edits <sup>763</sup> with juristic and historical comments, the *procès-verbal*, found at Dmeir (cf. *JHS* LXVII. 125), of a trial conducted at Antioch by Caracalla.

R. G. Goodchild's careful study <sup>764</sup> of the coastal road of PHOENICIA from Antioch to Ptolemais, with special reference to the twenty-five extant milestones, mostly found near Berytus and Sidon, emphasizes and explains the value of this type of evidence and includes in its inventory (pp. 117 ff.) several Greek or bilingual inscriptions. C. C. Torrey publishes <sup>765</sup> a bronze *tabula ansata*, now in Yale University, found in Syria, perhaps near Sarepta, inscribed θεῷ ἁγίῳ Σαρεπτηνῷ Συνέδημος (not συνέδημος, 'fellow-exile', as the editor writes)

<sup>743</sup> *SCE* IV (2), 138, 155.

<sup>744</sup> *Ibid.* 479 ff.

<sup>745</sup> *REG* LIX-LX. 175.

<sup>746</sup> *REG* LXII. 151 f.

<sup>747</sup> *JHS* LXVIII. 155.

<sup>748</sup> *Riv Fil* LXXVII. 118.

<sup>749</sup> *The End of the Seleucids*, 69 n. 47.

<sup>750</sup> *Philol* XCVII. 267 ff., 369; cf. *REG* LXII. 150 f., *Anz. Altert.* II. 78.

<sup>751</sup> *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie* (Paris, 1947), 238 f., 257 ff.; cf. *Méi Beyr* XXVII. 329 ff.

<sup>752</sup> *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (Princeton U.P., 1947), 627 ff.

<sup>753</sup> *Ibid.* 73, 426, 451, 540, 579 f.

<sup>754</sup> *JNE Studies*, V. 73 ff.; cf. *AJA* LI. 448.

<sup>755</sup> *\*Bull. ét. or. Damas*, X. 44, 53; cf. *REG* LXI. 204.

<sup>756</sup> *Hellenica*, IV. 78, 80 f., 136 f.

<sup>757</sup> *Philol* XCVII. 376 ff.

<sup>758</sup> *Hellenica*, II. 70 f., VII. 101.

<sup>759</sup> *Syria*, XXV. 335.

<sup>760</sup> *Syria*, XXVI. 59 ff., 69; cf. 39.

<sup>761</sup> *Zts. D. Pal.-Verein*, LXVII. 260 ff.

<sup>762</sup> *Portorium*, 356 ff.

<sup>763</sup> *\*Bull. Ist. Dir. Rom.* XLIX-L. 46 ff.

<sup>764</sup> *Berytus*, IX. 91 ff.

<sup>765</sup> *Ibid.* 45 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 148.



εὐξάμενος ἀνέστηκεν. A. Beaulieu and R. Mouterde describe <sup>766</sup> the grotto of Wasta, between Sidon and Tyre, with its Hellenistic cult, attested by a dedication Βασιλεῖ Π[τολεμαί]ωι (so they restore as referring to Ptolemy IV) καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἐπηκόωι, and a later cult, to which numerous Greek and Semitic graffiti relate. Mouterde reports <sup>767</sup> the discovery at Tyre of four Greek inscriptions, in one of which Σεπτιμία κολ(ωνία) Τύρος ἡ μητρόπολις honours Odaenathus I of Palmyra ca. A.D. 198, and L. Wenger examines <sup>768</sup> the ἱεροὶ κανόνες of a sixth-century text from el-Bassa, between Tyre and Ptolemais (*SEG* VIII. 18. 5). J. Starcky cites <sup>769</sup> an inscription from the temple of Aphlad at Dura (*Dura Report*, V. 112 f.), and H. N. Porter edits <sup>770</sup> an interesting Bacchic graffito, now at Yale, probably of A.D. 225–50, from the Dolicheneum built by Roman troops about A.D. 211, which ‘casts a flood of light on the important mystery-cult of Dionysus, here seemingly assimilated to the Semitic religion of Jupiter Dolichenus’. To Gerasa I have referred twice, and I note also L. Harding’s discovery <sup>771</sup> of the record of the gift of a fountain (?) to the city in the time of Julia Domna and Starcky’s remarks <sup>772</sup> on the Gerasene cult of the θεὸς ἅγιος Πακειδᾶς (Welles, *Gerasa*, 17, 18) as offering the key to the riddle of the Palmyrene worship of Du’anat.

PALESTINE has been less productive than usual, owing, at least in part, to political conditions. M. P. Colombo discusses <sup>773</sup> the metre and meaning of the Hellenistic love-poem found in 1902 at Marissa (Tell Sandahanna), between Jerusalem and Gaza. P. Benoit publishes <sup>774</sup> a Palestinian jug, now in the collection of the White Fathers of St. Anne at Jerusalem, bearing the text of Psalm XXXVI. 8–10 in the LXX version. E. L. Sukenik deals in an article, <sup>775</sup> also issued as a book entitled *The Earliest Records of Christianity*, with the ossuary-inscriptions from a chamber-tomb near Jerusalem, dated not later than A.D. 50, one of which he interprets as a cry of woe called forth by the crucifixion of Jesus Christ (cf. *JHS* LXVII. 126). E. J. Bickerman explains <sup>776</sup> two phrases in the notices barring the access of ἄλλογενεῖς to the inner courts of Herod’s Temple (*SEG* VIII. 169, *OGI* 598). Among recent finds made in Palestine are <sup>777</sup> inscribed lintels from Khirbet ed-Deir and ‘Ein el-Ma’mudiya, near Taffuh, in the Hebron sub-district, and a fragmentary bilingual text from Khirbet Karak, N. of the outlet of the Jordan from the Sea of Galilee.

The trilingual inscription of Sapor I from the ‘Kaaba of Zoroaster’ (cf. *JHS* LXV. 98, LXVII. 126) is studied <sup>778</sup> by G. P. Carratelli, who provides a Greek text with apparatus criticus and historical commentary, and by W. Ensslin, who discusses <sup>779</sup> in detail, in the light of this new evidence, Sapor’s wars. L. Robert edits <sup>780</sup> two inscriptions from Nehavend in Iran, the ancient Laodicea, now preserved in the Teheran Museum. One of these, independently published <sup>781</sup> by C. Clairmont, bears a πρόσταγμα of Antiochus III relative to the cult of Queen Laodice, dated in the spring of 193 B.C., with a covering letter to Laodicea from Menedemus, governor of the satrapy, ordering its publication; this valuable historical document enables us to restore the text of the ‘Eriza decree’ and to date it correctly (above, p. 49). The second (pp. 22 ff.) is a fragmentary inscription of 183–2 B.C., in which Laodicea honours a high official under Seleucus IV; the discussion of the Seleucid queens involves a fresh scrutiny of a Susan manumission of 177–6 B.C. (*SEG* VII. 2).

## X. NORTH AFRICA

The Egyptian and Nubian sections of this survey appear in *JEA* XXXVI. 106 ff. Otherwise there is little to report from North Africa. C. Leriche’s dissertation <sup>782</sup> on the Ptolemaic constitution of CYRENE (*SEG* IX. 1) I have not seen. H. van Effenterre comments <sup>783</sup> on the supplies of corn sent by Cyrene in 330 B.C. to various Cretan cities (*ibid.* 2). J. H. Oliver examines <sup>784</sup> from the palaeographical standpoint the second edict and the

<sup>766</sup> *Mit. Bejr* XXVII. 3 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 149.

<sup>767</sup> *CRAI* 1947, 677 f.; cf. *REG* LXII. 148.

<sup>768</sup> *SB Wien*, CCXX (2). 164 f.

<sup>769</sup> *Syria*, XXVI. 81 ff.

<sup>770</sup> *AJP* LXIX. 27 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 147.

<sup>771</sup> *PEQ* 1949, 20.

<sup>772</sup> *Syria*, XXVI. 80 f.

<sup>773</sup> *Epigraphica*, VIII. 19 ff.

<sup>774</sup> *Rev. Bibl.* LVI. 433 ff.; cf. LVII. 159.

<sup>775</sup> *AJA* LI. 351 ff.; cf. *Symb. Oslo*. XXVII. 144 f., *REG* LXII. 149.

<sup>776</sup> *Jew. Qu. Rev.* XXXVII. 387 ff.; cf. *REG* LXI. 206 f.

<sup>777</sup> *QDAP* XIII. 166 f., 170.

<sup>778</sup> *Parola del passato*, II. 209 ff., 356 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII. 149 f., *AJA* LIII. 53, *Archaeology*, II. 186 ff.

<sup>779</sup> *SB München*, 1947, 5; cf. *Wüzb. Jahrb.* III. 419 f.

<sup>780</sup> *Hellenica*, VII. 5 ff., *CRAI* 1948, 248 f.; cf. G. Daux, *BCH* LXXIII. 287 n. 1.

<sup>781</sup> *Mus. Helv.* V. 218 ff.

<sup>782</sup> \**Le diagramme constitutionnel de Cyrène*, Brussels.

<sup>783</sup> *La Crète et le monde grec*, 113.

<sup>784</sup> *Mem. Am. Ac.* XIX. 105 ff.



*senatus consultum* included in the famous Augustan dossier (*ibid.* 8), solving the syntactical problem of l. 50 and discussing the new procedure envisaged by the senatorial resolution. G. Bakalakis deals <sup>785</sup> with the artistic aspect of the relief bearing the epigram of A.D. 2 relative to the close of the Marmaric War (*ibid.* 63), and H. Jeanmaire's article on *δοσία* as a religious technical term includes <sup>786</sup> an interpretation of § 5 of the 'Decretals' (*ibid.* 72. 21 ff.). F. Chamoux adds <sup>787</sup> a supplementary note to his article (cf. *JHS* LXVII. 127) on the Cyrenean sculptor Zenion.

The unimportant inscriptions found at Carthage and Tebessa are known to me only from references <sup>788</sup> in J. and L. Robert's bibliography.

MARCUS N. TOD.

Oriel College, Oxford.

<sup>785</sup> Ἑλληνικά ἀμείγλυρα, 83 ff.

<sup>786</sup> *REG* LVIII. 86 ff.; cf. *LXI*. 210.

<sup>787</sup> *BCH* LXXI-II. 371 f.

<sup>788</sup> *REG* LXI. 210 f.



## NOTES ON THE REVOLUTION OF THE FOUR HUNDRED AT ATHENS

### (A) THE ΞΥΓΓΡΑΦΕΙΣ

WHAT was the number of the ξυγγραφείς who were appointed at Athens in 411 B.C. to introduce modifications into the democratic constitution? Thucydides says ten, and Aristotle thirty (Thuc. VIII. 67. 1; Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία 29 § 2). It is now generally assumed that the only way to resolve this discrepancy is to reject one of the two conflicting numbers as a mere mistake, and that the error is on the part of Thucydides.

Another solution has recently been put forward by Miss Mabel Lang,<sup>1</sup> who concludes that *Thucydides' ten ξυγγραφείς and Aristotle's thirty ξυγγραφείς were two distinct bodies*, and that both authors after all were in the right. She points out that the Ten and the Thirty differed not only in their numbers, but in their attributes and achievements, and that they probably functioned on different occasions. Whereas the Ten were αὐτοκράτορες (i.e. had authority to by-pass the Council and present their report direct to the Popular Assembly), the Thirty lacked 'autocratic' power. Whereas the Thirty in due course submitted a scheme of reforms which was duly ratified by the Assembly (Ἀθ. Πολ. 29 § 5-30 § 1), the Ten never produced their programme (Thuc. VIII. 67. 2). Furthermore, the Ten, as we know from Thucydides (VIII. 67. 1) were appointed *after* Peisander's return from his mission to Tissaphernes in quest of a Persian war-subsidy. On the other hand, Aristotle implies that the Thirty received their commission *before* Peisander's departure from Athens, when the Assembly, taking him at his word, and believing that 'Tissaphernes aid' would be forthcoming, but with a string attached—i.e. on condition that the Athenians should remodel their constitution—proceeded to fulfil their part of the bargain (Ἀθ. Πολ. 29 §§ 1-5).

Support may be found for Lang's theory in a clause of the Thirty's report which authorised the new citizen body of the Five Thousand 'συνθήκας συντίθεσθαι πρὸς οὓς ἂν ἐθέλωσιν' (Ἀθ. Πολ. 29 § 5). This article was presumably not a blank form, but envisaged a definite second party in the transaction.<sup>2</sup> But at the time in question there were only two powers with which the Athenians could have contemplated a deal, Sparta and Persia. The Spartans can be ruled out, for an arrangement to cease hostilities against them would have been described in an official act as 'σπονδαί' or 'εἰρήνη', not as 'συνθήκαι' (which usually denotes a business pact).<sup>3</sup> The negotiations which the Thirty had in mind could therefore only have been with Persia; and this is tantamount to saying that when the Thirty drew up their report the hope of a profitable bargain with Tissaphernes still burnt bright, and that Peisander had not yet returned to Athens with his message of failure.<sup>4</sup> The task of Aristotle's Thirty had therefore been completed before the appointment of Thucydides' Ten.

The importance of Lang's theory lies not so much in its removal of an arithmetical dilemma—in itself a matter of no moment—but in that it provides a suitable occasion on which the reform programme of Ἀθ. Πολ. 29 § 5 could have been enacted and the Five Thousand could have been voted into the constitution. So long as we identify the Thirty and the Ten, we are bound to assume that the constitution of Ἀθ. Πολ. 29 § 5 was carried at the Colonus Assembly to which the Ten presented their report (Thuc. VIII. 67. 2). But we cannot do this, unless we are prepared to assume that Thucydides grossly misrepresented the proceedings at this Assembly—the most important one in the history of the Revolution. The historian is clear and emphatic in his statement that the *only* scheme of reform to be proposed and enacted at Colonus was the three-point programme of Peisander (Thuc. VIII. 67. 2-3),<sup>5</sup> and this differed from the constitution of Aristotle's Thirty at almost every point. The constitution of Ἀθ. Πολ. 29 § 5 will therefore remain on our hands, unless we hold the Thirty separate from the Ten; but if we make this distinction, we can easily find an occasion for an Assembly, previous to that of Colonus, at which the constitution of the Thirty could have been made into law.

The constitution of Ἀθ. Πολ. 29 § 5, though duly enacted, was superseded by Peisander's three-point act before it could be put into operation, and the Five Thousand whom it called into being remained for the time being a disembodied wraith. But the wraith haunted the Four Hundred, and by its eventual self-incorporation it got rid of them. The work of the Thirty was therefore not wholly abortive.

<sup>1</sup> *AJP* LXIX (1948), pp. 272-89.

<sup>2</sup> In detriment to her own case, Lang dismisses this clause as 'meaningless'. But who would insert a tag of lawyer's 'common form' into a programme for a popular assembly?

<sup>3</sup> The Athenian oligarchs probably did not contemplate overtures to Sparta until a later stage. Peisander's adherents at Samos met Tissaphernes' rebuff with a resolution to carry

on the war and dip deeper into their own pockets (Thuc. VIII. 63. 4).

<sup>4</sup> There is no evidence that Peisander intended to mend the broken thread of the Persian negotiations. In any case, he would not have used the Five Thousand for this purpose.

<sup>5</sup> On the proceedings at Colonus, see also pp. 58-9.



## (B) THE DOCUMENTS OF 'ΑΘ. ΠΟΛ. CHS. 30 AND 31

No part of the 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία presents greater difficulties than chs. 30 and 31, containing the so-called 'Definitive' and 'Provisional' Constitutions of the revolutionary emergency (to be referred to henceforth as 'DC' and 'PC'). The texts of the constitutions are seemingly incomplete,<sup>6</sup> and their wording is often ambiguous.<sup>7</sup> Worse still, PC includes several clauses that are suitable to a permanent constitution, but out of place in an interim act. Most difficult of all is the problem of fitting the two acts into their historic context. According to Aristotle, both of them were drawn up by 100 ἀναγραφείς who had been appointed *ad hoc* by the Five Thousand, and were in due course ratified by the Five Thousand; and the whole of this procedure was completed before the coup d'état by which the Four Hundred assumed power (30 § 1; 32 § 1): in other words, the two constitutions belonged to an early stage of the Revolution. Yet according to Thucydides, who is insistent and emphatic on this point (VIII. 86. 6, 89. 2, 92. 11, 93. 2), the Five Thousand were never embodied and never became operative under the Four Hundred; and Aristotle himself admits as much (32 § 2: οἱ δὲ πεντακισχίλιοι λόγῳ μόνον ἡρέθησαν).

Some scholars accordingly have condemned the two constitutions as forgeries, like the admittedly spurious 'Constitution of Draco' in 'ΑΘ. ΠΟΛ. ch. 4.<sup>8</sup> But this comparison is delusive, for Draco's constitution belonged to a dim past, and no documents survived from that remote age to serve as a check on it. On the other hand the constitutional acts of the Revolution should all have been available at the Record Office; and in 403 B.C. a commission of νομοθέται had purged the archives of any unauthentic pieces that might have crept in.<sup>9</sup> A falsified constitutional history of the Revolution could therefore scarcely have escaped detection. Moreover, the very untidiness of the two constitutions is an argument in their favour. A forger of Athenian documents might at least have been expected to be correct in matters of form, for under the democracy there was no lack of citizens possessing first-hand acquaintance with public acts, whose suspicions must have been aroused by any startling deviation from the habitually neat style of Athenian official documents.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand it need cause no surprise if two documents thrown together hurriedly in the storm and stress of a revolution show sundry defects in composition and drafting.

Furthermore, a renewed study of the impugned texts may show that some of their incongruities are due to faulty transmission and therefore may be remedied by emendation,<sup>11</sup> and that other difficulties may be resolved by a different interpretation.

(1) In the last sentence of ch. 31 we read 'εἰς δὲ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ἵνα νεμήθωσιν οἱ τετρακόσιοι εἰς τὰς τεττάρους λήξεις . . . . . διανεμάντων αὐτοὺς οἱ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρες'. This clause is manifestly an intruder in a provisional constitution; and in its present position it is also an anacoluthon, for its references to 'the Hundred' and the 'four allotted sections' (which are mentioned nowhere else in ch. 31) remain suspended in mid-air. On the other hand it makes a perfect join with the end of 30 ch. 3, which reads as follows: 'τοὺς δ' ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας διανεῖμαι σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τέτταρα μέρη ὡς ἰσάτατα καὶ διακληρώσαι'. The concluding sentence of ch. 31 should therefore be transferred to this point in ch. 30.

(2) The preceding sentence in ch. 31 ('τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἀρχῶν, πλὴν τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν, μὴ ἐξεῖναι . . . . . πλεον ἢ ἅπαξ ἄρξαι τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρχήν') invites similar treatment. A ban on iteration of annual offices is out of place in an emergency act; but this clause follows well on 30 § 2, which lays down similar rules for the appointment of executive officials.

(3) Other passages in ch. 31 which have caused offence may be interpreted so as to yield a satisfactory sense. In 31 § 2 the text runs as follows: 'τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν τὸ νῦν εἶναι τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐξ ἁπάντων ποιεῖσθαι τῶν πεντακισχιλίων, τὴν δὲ βουλήν, ἐπειδὴν κατάστη . . . ἐλεῖσθαι δέκα ἄνδρας κ.τ.λ.'. The two clauses here quoted are usually construed as though they expressed two contrasted operations in successive order of time. On this rendering, the second clause ('τὴν δὲ βουλήν, κ.τ.λ.') would certainly be otiose in an interim act and, if genuine, must be accommodated somewhere in ch. 30. But a clause introduced by δέ is not necessarily antithetic, least of all if the preceding clause is not introduced by μέν. The words 'τὴν δὲ βουλήν, κ.τ.λ.' may therefore be taken in a supplementary and explanatory sense: their purpose presumably was to set forth in greater detail the procedure to be followed in the election of strategē as laid down in general terms in the previous clause. Both the clauses are therefore conditioned in point of time by the phrase 'τὸ νῦν εἶναι', and both are appropriate to a provisional constitution.

(4) At the end of 31 § 2 ('τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τὴν αἵρεσιν ποιεῖσθαι τούτων τὴν βουλήν κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα') the phrase 'κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα' is usually taken to mean 'according to what has

<sup>6</sup> It has often been observed that neither constitution makes provision for a judiciary, and that in 30 § 3, and again in 31 § 1, the method of appointing to the Council is not set forth in full.

<sup>7</sup> For a long but not exhaustive list of these ambiguities, see L. van der Ploeg, *Theramenes en zijn Tijd*, pp. 70-1.

<sup>8</sup> U. Kahrstedt, *Forschungen*, p. 253; F. Taeger, *Gnomon* 13 (1937), p. 353; van der Ploeg, *op. cit.* p. 72.

<sup>9</sup> Andocides II. 84; Lysias XXX. 2—a forgery detected.

<sup>10</sup> The pseudographs in Demosthenes' *De Corona* are products of a later age which knew not the democracy.

<sup>11</sup> Certain passages in Cicero's *Epistolae ad Brutum*, which long defied explanation and were therefore offered as proof that the Letters were forgeries, have been made to yield good sense by a similar operation. It is now generally accepted that some MS. sheets had become displaced.—See esp. W. Sternkopf, *Hermes* XLVI (1911), pp. 355-75.



been laid down'. Seeing that 'τὰ γεγραμμένα', thus construed, can only refer to DC, we are driven to infer that the definitive constitution was completed before the interim—a self-refuting supposition. But 'γεγραμμένα' may also carry a proleptic sense (= 'γραφησόμενα'), especially after the preceding 'τὸ λοιπὸν' ('in future the elections shall be held according to the rules which shall by then have been laid down'). On this construction the seeming hysteron proteron will be reversed, and the two constitutions will be reinstated in their proper order.

Even so, it must be admitted that this clause, with its forward reference to a future constitution, is strictly superfluous in an emergency act; and the same applies to a clause in 31 § 1 ('τοῖς δὲ νόμοις οἱ ἂν τεθῶσιν περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν χρῆσθαι'). And other residual difficulties are to be found both in ch. 30 and in ch. 31. But the difficulties are no greater than one should expect in two hurriedly drafted acts of a revolutionary committee. It is therefore preferable to accept PC and DC as historical, and to persist in seeking the right niche for them in the history of the Revolution.<sup>12</sup>

### (C) THE DEFINITIVE CONSTITUTION

The dates of DC and PC demand separate consideration. The problem of DC has been considerably furthered by the observation, first recorded by Ehrenberg,<sup>13</sup> and confirmed by Ferguson in the light of documentary evidence,<sup>14</sup> that DC bore considerable resemblance to the constitution which was actually in force at Athens between the Fall of the Four Hundred and the restoration of the full democracy (the so-called 'constitution of Theramenes', or 'CT' for short). To be sure, Ferguson's conclusion, that DC = CT, has been called into question. CT was described by Thucydides as 'the best in his experience and a major cause of the Athenian recovery'.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand DC, though not a mere piece of utopian nonsense, as some scholars have described it, had at least two serious defects for a war-time scheme of government: the Council was too unwieldy for prompt decisions, and the strategi were debarred by a system of rotation in office from holding command for more than one year in four.<sup>16</sup> But even if we accept these objections and refuse to identify the two constitutions directly, we may still take the view that CT was an amended and matured form of DC.<sup>17</sup> In any case, we can hardly resist the conclusion that DC came into force at some time after the fall of the Four Hundred.

Even so, the enactment of DC might belong to an earlier occasion. Some scholars would still date it back to an early phase of the Revolution. Thus (a) Busolt<sup>18</sup> and Wilcken<sup>19</sup> have maintained that it was formally carried at the Colonus Assembly by some moderate oligarchs, only to be blanketed by Peisander, who overlaid it by way of amendment with his more radical programme. By this manoeuvre Peisander rendered DC nugatory; but as a concession to the moderates he allowed it to remain on the statute book, so that after the fall of the Four Hundred it could be taken out of cold storage and put into operation. Wilcken made the further suggestion that after the Revolution DC was re-drafted by the ἀναγραφείς and re-enacted by the Five Thousand.

This ingenious compromise explains more satisfactorily than any other theory how a constitution which was formally enacted before the oligarchic coup d'état could nevertheless have been in some sense the handiwork of the ἀναγραφείς and the Five Thousand. But the theory of Busolt and Wilcken can ill be reconciled with Thucydides' account of the Colonus Assembly. Any unprejudiced reader of this would assume that after the formal vote of ἀδεία (full freedom of discussion) the initiative was at once seized by Peisander, so that he might rush through his three-point programme, while his clique drowned all discussion (VIII. 67. 2-3).<sup>20</sup> Moreover, if Peisander's constitution had really been carried in the form of an amendment, it would according to the established Athenian practice have been indited at the foot of the substantive motion which it formally modified (and superseded in effect). But in that case, how could Aristotle have passed over this constitution without a word?<sup>21</sup> His ignorance of it is strange in any case; but if its text stood on the record in the next paragraph after DC, his failure to refer to it eludes all understanding.

(b) Busolt's original date for the enactment of DC,<sup>22</sup> which has recently been re-adopted by Lang, was on a day soon after the oligarchic coup d'état, when, ex hypothesi, the four Hundred convened another Assembly and there carried DC and PC in succession. On this view both the constitutions were mere 'eyewash' for disgruntled democrats or moderates, and were never intended to come into effect;

<sup>12</sup> It may be objected to the transpositions suggested above that they reduce PC to very little. But (1) Aristotle's text of PC may be incomplete; (2) brevity in a provisional constitution is a virtue.

<sup>13</sup> *Hermes* LVII (1922), p. 619.

<sup>14</sup> *Classical Philology* XXI (1926), pp. 72-5. Ferguson's chief piece of evidence is the bill for the impeachment of Antiphon (I.G. II<sup>2</sup>. 12), in which the usual formula 'ἔσχε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ' is replaced by 'ἔσχε τῇ βουλῇ'. The absorption of the Assembly's functions by the Council, as here indicated, was a leading feature of DC.

<sup>15</sup> VIII. 97. 2.

<sup>16</sup> See esp. G. H. Stevenson, *JHS* 1936, pp. 55-6.

<sup>17</sup> After the fall of the Four Hundred the Athenians held πικρὰ ἀπολογίαν, in which they refashioned their constitution

(Thuc. VIII. 97. 2). DC may have received a grooming in one of these.

<sup>18</sup> *Griechische Staatskunde*, p. 77.

<sup>19</sup> *SB Berliner Akademie* 1935, p. 35 ff.

<sup>20</sup> ἑταῖοι δὲ λαμπρῶς ἔλεγον, κ.τ.λ. As Wilcken has pointed out, the imperfect 'ἔλεγον' implies that Peisander's adherents repeated their slogans in refrain. 'λαμπρῶς', which is usually translated into 'openly', 'unverhüllt' (i.e. as a synonym of ἐφανῶς or ἀντικρυς), should rather be taken to mean 'flashily' or 'with fireworks'. Thucydides, who picked his words carefully in this passage, surely meant to convey that Peisander dazzled the Assembly with a coup de théâtre.

<sup>21</sup> Such is the communis opinio. For the possibility that Aristotle did mention Peisander's constitution, see p. 59.

<sup>22</sup> *Griechische Geschichte* III. 2, pp. 1485-7.



it was therefore only to be expected that Thucydides should pass them over in silence. This scheme avoids a clash with Thucydides, but it contradicts Aristotle all along the line, for it dates DC both too late (after the *coup d'état*) and too early (before the Five Thousand assumed power). Besides, why should the victorious extremists have been at the trouble of providing two additional constitutions *ad captandum*? They had carried their Colonus programme οὐδένοσ ἀντίποντος; similarly they had evicted the democratic Council οὐδέν ἀντίπουσαν;<sup>23</sup> and the ill tidings from the fleet at Samos which eventually forced them to compromise had not yet come in.<sup>24</sup> No adequate motive can therefore be assigned for such supererogatory legislation, and Beloch's comment holds good: 'man entwirft doch keine Verfassung auf Vorrat'.<sup>25</sup>

(c) *A priori*, the most likely occasion on which the Four Hundred would have enacted DC was in the waning phase of the Revolution, when they were driven to offer concessions to the fleet at Samos. It is tempting, therefore, to see in the main provision of DC, the passing of the entire body of active citizens through the Council by rotation, a fulfilment of the promise to the fleet, 'τῶν πεντακισχιλίων ὅτι πάντες ἐν τῷ μέρει μετέξουσιν'.<sup>26</sup> But this dating does as much violence to Aristotle as the one previously considered.

(d) We are therefore driven back upon the conclusion, first put forward by Beloch, but long held in neglect, that DC was enacted as well as implemented after the fall of the Four Hundred.<sup>27</sup> This dating, to be sure, conflicts with that of Aristotle, but it is the only one that allows us to accept without qualification his all-important statement that it was drafted by the ἀναγραφεῖς under authority from the Five Thousand, and was ratified by the Five Thousand themselves.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, it fits well into Thucydides' account of the counter-revolution:—the hoplite forces which had overthrown the Four Hundred proceeded to constitute themselves as the Five Thousand and to appoint a board of νομοθέται, in whom we may recognise Aristotle's ἀναγραφεῖς.<sup>29</sup> Beloch's hypothesis therefore deviates least from the sources and from historical probabilities.

#### (D) THE PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTION

PC prescribed a more exclusive and autocratic form of government than DC. This renders it doubly unlikely that it should have been intended by the extremist oligarchs as a sop to the moderates or democrats after the coup d'état. For the same reason it could not have been introduced by the moderates at Colonus in opposition to Peisander. But could it nevertheless have been moved and carried at Colonus—by Peisander himself? It has a striking point of resemblance with Peisander's constitution, as outlined by Thucydides, in that it sets up a similar Council of Four Hundred and invests it with 'autocratic' power. Like Peisander's act, it also assumes the existence of the Five Thousand but leaves them functionless. Moreover, we might reasonably believe, though Thucydides does not say so, that Peisander professed to be legislating 'ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ': it was by a similar pretence that the Thirty Tyrants *induerunt sese republicae*.

It has therefore been suggested by Ehrenberg<sup>30</sup> that PC and Peisander's constitution are identical. True, PC contains some details which are apparently missing in the Colonus constitution, and vice versa. But Ehrenberg explains this discrepancy by assuming that neither Thucydides nor Aristotle gave more than an extract from the act, and that each author picked out different details to suit his purpose. Again, the procedure for the election of the Council is not the same in Thucydides and in Aristotle. Yet neither author gives a complete account of the method of appointment; and it has been shown by van der Ploog that by tying the loose ends together the two procedures can be combined into a single operation.<sup>31</sup>

Of all the theories which date PC back to an early stage of the Revolution, Ehrenberg's is the one which puts the least strain on our sources and the probabilities of the case. But, like all the rest, it cannot be fully harmonised with Aristotle's statement that PC was the product of the ἀναγραφεῖς and the Five Thousand. And there remains a doubt whether Aristotle's and Thucydides' details could have inter-digitated as neatly as the theory requires. We must therefore consider the remaining alternative—was PC enacted, together with DC, after the Fall of the Four Hundred?

*A priori*, this is the time at which one would most expect the Athenians to have set up an extemporised form of government. The counter-revolution which overthrew the oligarchy was not, like the preceding revolution, a premeditated coup; it was carried out on the spur of the moment by the Home Defence forces, who deposed the Four Hundred in a tumultuary convention, so as leave Athens without any constituted authority. It was to fill the gap thus created that they

<sup>23</sup> Thuc. VIII. 69. 1, 70. 1.

<sup>24</sup> On the authority of Thuc. VIII. 74. 1 Lang and van der Ploog have independently established this point.

<sup>25</sup> *Griechische Geschichte* II<sup>2</sup>. 2, p. 319.

<sup>26</sup> Thuc. VIII. 86. 1. On the interpretation of this formula, see Stevenson, p. 50.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.* ch. 23. The overlaps in the unamended texts of chs. 30 and 31 misled Beloch into amalgamating DC and PC into a single act. This untenable conclusion prejudiced the whole of his case. On Beloch, see also Stevenson, p. 54.

<sup>28</sup> Granted that Aristotle was at fault somewhere, it seems

more likely that he erred in his chronology than in making a double mistake as to the authorship of DC and PC. The documents containing these acts could hardly have failed to indicate their authors in an unequivocal manner; but it is not so certain that their date-marks were unmistakable, for the Revolution no doubt disturbed the normal prytany-sequence. (In 411–410 the Treasurers of Athena abandoned the usual prytany-by-prytany dating and reckoned continuously from a fixed point.—IG. I. 184–5.) <sup>29</sup> Thuc. VIII. 97. 1–2.

<sup>30</sup> *Hermes* LVII (1922), pp. 613–20.

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 75–6.



vested themselves with sovereign power under the title of the hitherto disembodied Five Thousand and appointed the νομοθέται *sive* ἀναγραφείς.<sup>32</sup> These in due course produced their draft of DC; but even if, under the mentorship of Theramenes or some other moderate, they had been able to throw together DC at short notice, the task of compiling the lists of the four citizen-sections, which were an essential ingredient of that constitution,<sup>33</sup> must have required time. At this stage, therefore, an interim constitution became a downright necessity.

From one detail of PC we may derive a further clue to its date. In 31 § 2 we read: τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν τὸ νῦν εἶναι τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐξ ἀπάντων ποιεῖσθαι τῶν πεντακισχιλίων, τὴν δὲ βουλὴν, ἐπειδὴν κατὰσθῃ, ποιήσασιν ἐξέτασιν ἐν ὅπλοις, ἐλθεῖν δέκα ἄνδρας, κ.τ.λ. It is a peculiar feature of this procedure that the Council is instructed to hold a muster of the eligibles (*i.e.* the entire body of the Five Thousand) under arms. Why this parade under arms? The explanation is to be found in the resolution which the Home Defence forces passed when they conferred sovereign power upon the Five Thousand: εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν πεντακισχιλίων) ὅποσοι καὶ ὅπλα παρέχονται.<sup>34</sup> At this juncture the only way of proving membership of the Five Thousand was to show a suit of armour. Hence the ἐξέτασις ἐν ὅπλοις, which for the time being was a necessary part of the procedure at elections, though on any other occasion it would have been an idle display of militarism.

The Council set up by PC had a membership of four hundred, like that of the Revolution. If it was the immediate successor of the oligarchic Four Hundred, it may seem strange that the pleader in the Lysianic speech *Pro Polystrato* (Or. XX), who was charged after the Revolution with treasonable practices, should have spoken of 'the Four Hundred' without qualification, as though only one council of that number were known to him.<sup>35</sup> But need he have stated expressly to which of the Four Hundred he had belonged? All the jurors would know from the plain facts of the case that it was the wicked oligarchic council. In this instance, therefore, the *argumentum e silentio* is without force.

Another objection to Beloch's dating has been advanced by Wilcken.<sup>36</sup> Describing the *coup d'état* by which the Four Hundred assumed power, Aristotle states that 'οἱ τετρακόσιοι μετὰ τῶν δέκα τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἤρχον τῆς πόλεως'.<sup>37</sup> These 'ten autocrats' are identified by Wilcken with the δέκα ἄνδρες αὐτοκράτορες of PC ('τὴν δὲ βουλὴν, ἐπειδὴν κατὰσθῃ . . . ἐλθεῖν δέκα ἄνδρας . . . τοὺς δὲ αἰρεθέντας ἄρχειν τὸν εἰσιόντα ἐνιαυτὸν αὐτοκράτορας').<sup>38</sup> If this identification is correct, the elections held under the terms of PC must have taken place *before* the *coup d'état*, and PC will therefore belong to an early stage of the Revolution. But, as van der Ploog has shown,<sup>39</sup> the Ten Autocrats of ch. 32 must be held distinct from the δέκα ἄνδρες αὐτοκράτορες of ch. 31, for the appointment of these latter was not due to be made until *after* the installation of the Council in office. In the former decemvirate, as van der Ploog has aptly suggested, we may recognise the ten συγγραφείς αὐτοκράτορες of Thucydides, who gave a free field to Peisander at the Colonus Assembly and no doubt were in collusion with him all the time.<sup>40</sup>

A third difficulty, which has been raised by Ferguson,<sup>41</sup> arises out of a phrase in 31 § 2: τοὺς δὲ αἰρεθέντας (δέκα ἄνδρας) ἄρχειν τὸν εἰσιόντα ἐνιαυτὸν αὐτοκράτορας. The régime of the Four Hundred fell astride of two archon-terms, the first two months of it being included in the archonship of Callias (early summer 411), and the remaining two months in that of Mnesilochus (late summer 411).<sup>42</sup> Now if, as Ferguson assumes, 'ἐνιαυτός' here denotes the full twelve-month term of a normal archonship, the date of entry of the counter-revolutionary δέκα ἄνδρες into the στρατηγία must have fallen near midsummer day. But midsummer 411 was already past when, according to Beloch, PC became law (not till August or September). Consequently the εἰσιὼν ἐνιαυτός could only refer to midsummer 410: in other words, the elections were to be held after a delay of ten months. Which, in an emergency government, is absurd. *Ergo*, the εἰσιὼν ἐνιαυτός must be midsummer 411 after all, and PC must be put back to a still earlier date, *i.e.* towards the beginning of the Revolution.

But the archon-year 411-410 was far from normal, for it was split into two archon-terms. Mnesilochus, a nominee of the Four Hundred, quitted office with them, and a new eponymus, Theopompus, replaced him by *subrogatio* (presumably in a convention of the newly embodied Five Thousand).<sup>43</sup> A new archon-term therefore began with his appointment, and although it fell two months short of the usual duration, it could nevertheless with perfect propriety be styled an ἐνιαυτός, for this word does not invariably denote an exact or approximate solar year, but may

<sup>32</sup> Thuc. VIII. 97. 1-2.

<sup>33</sup> 'Aθ. Πολ. 30 §§ 1-2.

<sup>34</sup> Thuc. VIII. 97. 1.

<sup>35</sup> Stevenson, p. 59 (on a suggestion by Wade-Gery).

<sup>36</sup> *SB Berliner Akademie* 1935, pp. 49-50.

<sup>37</sup> 'Aθ. Πολ. 32 § 3.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 § 2.

<sup>39</sup> *Theramenes en zijn Tijd*, pp. 57-8.

<sup>40</sup> Thuc. VIII. 67. 1-2. Could it be that Aristotle, not knowing about Thucydides' Ten, or having lost them out of mind, anticipated Wilcken in concluding that the δέκα αὐτοκράτορες of his ch. 32 must be the same as the δέκα ἄνδρες

αὐτοκράτορες of PC, and so was misled into dating PC (and consequently also DC) before the *coup d'état*?

The δέκα ἄνδρες of PC are in all probability synonymous with 'στατηγοί' (a term used immediately above).

<sup>41</sup> *Classical Philology* XXI (1926), p. 73.

<sup>42</sup> 'Aθ. Πολ. 33 § 1.

<sup>43</sup> 'Aθ. Πολ. 33 § 1. Under the restored democracy the archonship of Theopompus was officially dated as from midsummer 411 (the two-month office of Mnesilochus being deemed an ἀναρχία). But his actual entry into office could only have taken place after the departure of Mnesilochus.



signify any considerable period.<sup>44</sup> Consequently the εἰσιὼν ἐνιαυτός of PC may, without any strain on Greek semantics, be fixed at the entry into office of the *Ersatz*-archon Theopompus (August or September 411), so that the term of the new strategi would almost coincide with that of the new eponymus. On this reckoning, Beloch's dating fits nicely into the calendar of 411-410 B.C.

On the balance of evidence, therefore, it may be concluded that both DC and PC were products of the counter-revolution which drove the Four Hundred from office, and that these had no part in making either constitution.

M. CARY

Postscript.—Most of the problems raised in this article have received further discussion in a recent book by Franco Sartori, *La Crisi Del 411 A.C. Nell' Athenaion Politeia di Aristotele* (Padua, 1951). The views of the present author on this book will be stated in a forthcoming number of *Gnomon*.

<sup>44</sup> Liddell and Scott, s.v. In Thuc. III. 68. 3 'ἐνιαυτός' measures the interval between the temporary occupation of Plataea by Megarian refugees and its eventual destruction

by the Thebans. In Hesiod, *Her. Scut.* l. 87, it denotes the period of gestation of a child—approximately the same as that of Theopompus' archonship.



## CORINTH, AMBRACIA, APOLLONIA

THIS paper is an amplification of that much quoted passage of Thucydides ἐπορεύθησαν δὲ περὶ ἔς Ἀπολλωνίαν.<sup>1</sup> Of this land route, which enabled the Corinthians to get troops up to Epidamnus in despite of Corcyra, we know something and can guess more, and in view of the undoubted importance of this part of the Greek world to Corinth, it may be worth while to try to fit the isolated facts together and reconstruct a picture of a short phase of Epirote and Acarnanian history in the latter half of the fifth century. It is certain that the north-west ranked as one of Corinth's vital interests. There is no need to quote other evidence when there is the specific statement of the Corinthian ambassador before the Athenian demos that it was a necessity for Corinth to sail to Corcyra.<sup>2</sup> It is beyond the scope of this paper to enquire why this was so; all that is here attempted is a correlation of the facts about the land route, how Corinth and Apollonia contrived to open it, how Corinth and Ambracia tried to keep it open, and how by the end of the Archidamian War Athens had succeeded in closing it. The evidence is not copious, but of good quality; Thucydides is contemporary, Pausanias quotes contemporary sources, and the mountains, rivers, and valleys of the north-west are silent witnesses.

The route falls naturally into three parts, the Acarnanian, the Epirote, and the Illyrian. It will be convenient to consider the Acarnanian section first, and the other two sections in the order mentioned.

Acarnania is not a difficult country. When Antony had an army of some 60,000 legionaries, 12,000 horse and perhaps 10,000–15,000 light armed, as well as a fleet of over 500 warships, on the Actium cape, and Agrippa cut him off from his supply bases in Egypt and Peloponnese, he managed to have food carried over from Aetolia.<sup>3</sup> It is not surprising, then, to find that Eurylochus could march his men through a hostile countryside as far as the Gulf of Ambracia.<sup>4</sup> Of the details of the route through Acarnania nothing need be said; if the garrison, sent out by Corinth to reinforce Ambracia after the disastrous punishment with which the city had met at the hands of Demosthenes and the Acarnanians in 426, had a difficult march,<sup>5</sup> it was probably because it was winter time or spring, when the low ground around Oeniadae<sup>6</sup> and the plain of Stratus was flooded, a not infrequent occurrence. But if Acarnania itself was easy, the eastern end of the gulf, which had to be passed on the way to Ambracia, presented a problem. There were at least two fortified cities hostile to Corinth and Ambracia: Olpae, the Acarnanian 'thing',<sup>7</sup> and Amphilocheian Argos, which, though largely hellenised by the Corinthian colonies which had been its neighbours for centuries, was on bad terms with them.<sup>8</sup> Ambracia made at least two attempts to master Amphilocheian Argos. Thucydides gives no exact date for the first. It was merely 'many generations after the Trojan War . . . and some time after this' that Argos was occupied by the Ambraciotes, and the Athenians then sent out Phormio, who turned the tables and enslaved the Ambraciotes. It has been generally said that this incident must be dated after 440, to explain the decision of the Corinthians in the Samian crisis, and before 435,<sup>9</sup> after which year Thucydides' account of the events in the north-west which led to the war is alleged to be exhaustive. The latter argument is *e silentio* and for Thucydides extremely dangerous. It has recently been argued by H. T. Wade-Gery with great cogency<sup>10</sup> that the tone of the Corinthian ambassadors at Athens in 433 cannot possibly be explained on the supposition that Phormio's Acarnanian expedition was earlier than that year; had not Phormio enslaved Corinthian colonists? The argument that Phormio's expedition is later than 433 is irrefutable. No Athenian could have acted as he did if war was not certain. There is perhaps an indication of the exact time of the expedition. In 433 the Corinthian fleet of 150 ships which met the Corcyraeans and the Athenians at Sybota contained one ship from Anactorion,<sup>11</sup> but later in the same year, when the retiring fleet put into the gulf, Anactorion had apparently gone over to the other side. The Corinthians recovered it by treachery from within.<sup>12</sup> It is hard to see why the Anactorians, who, in the face of the attacks of Athens from the sea and the Amphilocheians on land, remained steadfastly true to Corinth until the Athenians and Acarnanians took their city in 425, should choose to revolt at the moment when a

[Readers will remember that R. L. Beaumont died in 1938. In a previous article 'Greek Influence in the Adriatic', which appeared as long ago as 1936 (*JHS* LVI), he alluded (p. 184, n. 179) to the present paper, which he left completed save for final revision. The Editors are much indebted to Mr. N. G. L. Hammond and Mr. T. J. Dunbabin for their assistance in preparing it for publication.]

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. I, 26, 2. The importance of this passage has been emphasised before, first, I believe, by Grundy, *Thucydides and the History of his Age*, 347 ff.; and Cornford, *Thucydides Mythistoricus*, p. 47, deals with Acarnania. But the Epirote

and Illyrian sections of the route have not been considered, which is some justification of this article.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. I, 37, 3. The Corinthians were presumably speaking for themselves.

<sup>3</sup> *CAH* X, p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> Thuc. III, 114, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Thuc. III, 105, 1: 'Ὀλπας, πείχως ἐπὶ λόφῳ ἰσχυρὸν πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ, ὃ ποτε Ἀκαρνανεὺς τειχισάμενοι κοινῶς δικαιοσύνην ἐχρῶντο. For its position see N. G. L. Hammond in *BSA* XXXVII, 133.

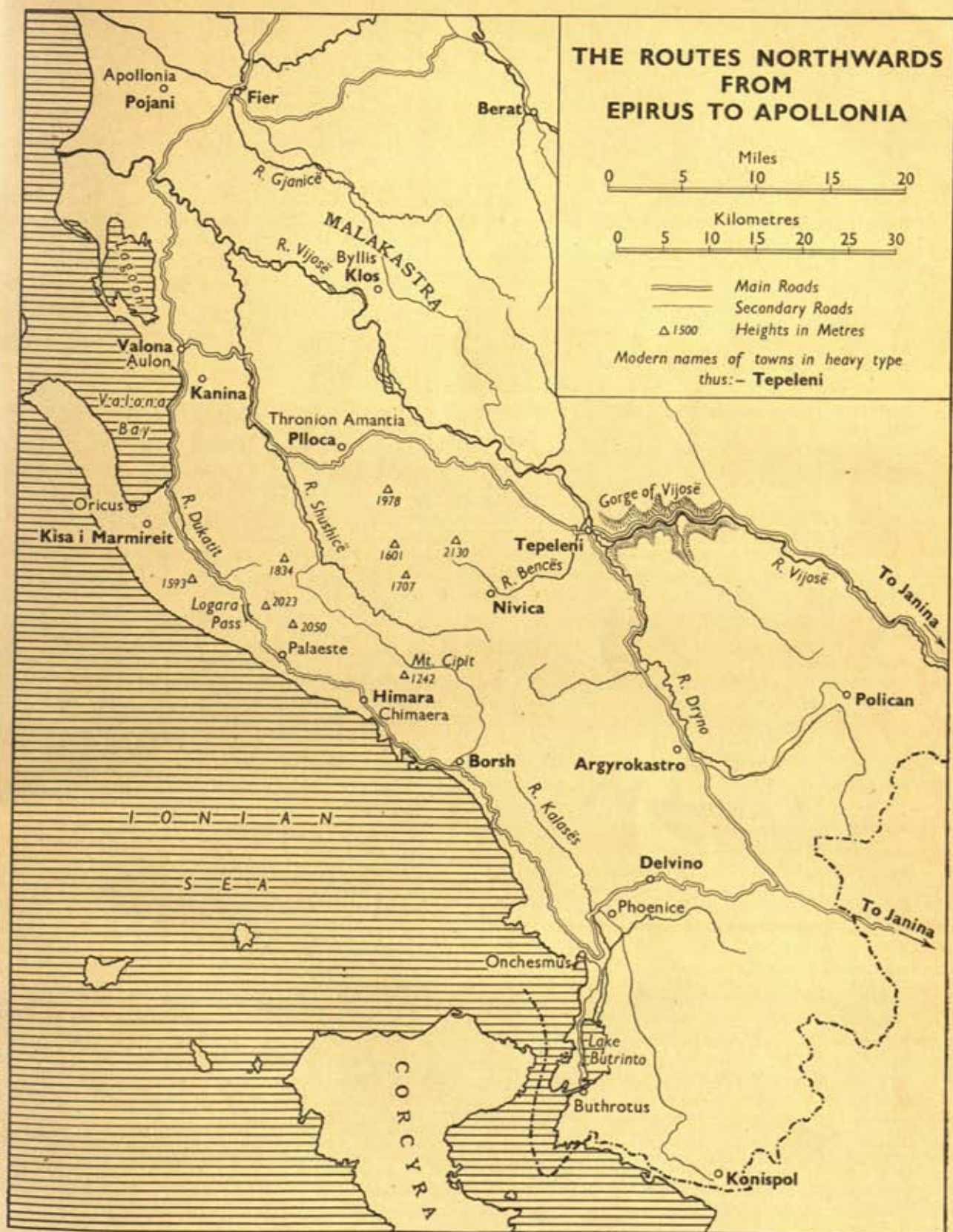
<sup>6</sup> Thuc. II, 68.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. *CAH* V, pp. 474–5.

<sup>8</sup> *JHS* 1932, 216.

<sup>9</sup> Thuc. I, 46, 1. <sup>10</sup> Thuc. I, 55, 1.











strong Corinthian fleet had gone north to meet a weaker Corcyraean. The simplest explanation is that Phormio brought it over by display or use of force at the same time as he restored Argos to the Amphilochians. Thucydides, who set himself a high standard of relevance even in his digressions, did not bother to mention the incident.

The help which the Athenians sent to the Amphilochians, and the alliance which they concluded with them at the same time, show the awakening interest of Athens in the north-west. This alliance may have been concluded in the hope of blocking the overland route, though there were, no doubt, other motives; a desire to break Ambracia, which must be ranked as only just not a great Greek power,<sup>13</sup> accounts for a great deal. But that the land route was the most important single interest which Athens had in Acarnania is indicated by the attention which was paid to Oeniadae, a city, which, so far as is known, did not furnish contingents to Corinthian fleets or armies. The taking of Oeniadae cannot have been an end in itself; and it is unthinkable that in the critical year 454, when he abandoned the attempt to cut Corinth off from Sparta and sailed to Acarnania,<sup>14</sup> Pericles was engaged in an operation of minor importance.

In the Archidamian war Athenian treatment of the captured Corinthian posts on the coast of Acarnania varied. When they took Astacus in the first year of the war, they turned out the pro-Corinthian tyrant and made the place a member of the empire; but Sollion they handed over to the Acarnanians.<sup>15</sup> The case of Anactorion is even more instructive. Although the Acarnanians had made a treaty with the Ambraciotes, which contained a mutual defensive alliance and was in all likelihood a violation of the Phormio treaty, the Athenians allowed the Acarnanians to hold Anactorion.<sup>16</sup> The offence which the Athenians must have taken at a treaty which could lead to the Acarnanians fighting for Ambracia if Ambracia was attacked by an Athenian force, was outweighed by the desire to retain the goodwill of Acarnania. It also shows that the Athenians did not want the Acarnanian ports for themselves, but were anxious that Corinth should not control them, though they made an exception in the case of Oeniadae,<sup>17</sup> perhaps because its position near the entry to the Gulf of Corinth made it of vital importance.

The Corinthians for their part made vigorous efforts to secure their hold on the Acarnanian coast and to extend their influence in the interior. In 431 when the Athenians expelled Euander the tyrant of Astacus, they sailed with 40 ships and 1500 hoplites to restore him.<sup>18</sup> Two years later, when the Ambraciotes were meditating revenge on the Argives, it was Corinth which encouraged them to go forward, while Sparta had to be urged on by representations which were largely false.<sup>19</sup> The Athenian hold on Cephallenia and Zacynthus was likely to last as long as the Athenian command of the sea, not as long as the independence of Acarnania only. Again, when Demosthenes had crippled Ambracia, Corinth sent a garrison of 300 citizens, under Xenoclidias, son of Euthycles, who had been entrusted in 432 with the supreme command of the fleet of 150 sail, the city's great effort.<sup>20</sup> Leucas was also garrisoned with citizens.<sup>21</sup> Corinthians freely acknowledged that they could not accept the Peace of Nicias because it deprived them of Sollion and Anactorion.<sup>22</sup>

If we had only the evidence for the Acarnanian section of the land route, there would be little reason to connect these facts with the desire to keep communications with the north-west open. It can be said with truth that Astacus, Sollion, and Leucas were of value on the voyage to Sicily; that Anactorion was a useful port on the way to Ambracia; and that the latter might one day be a power again. Indeed, sentiment and anxiety for prestige alone could amply account for Corinth's attitude. There must have been others in Corinth who felt, as Aristaeas felt of Potidaea, that cost what it might Corinthian colonies must never be left in the lurch to face Athens alone. In short, Corinth would have acted as she did in Acarnania, whether or no there had been a land route to the north. But the same cannot be said of Athens; and the interest of Corinth further north is ample proof of the importance of the land route.

As has been said, Corinth was free of the land route in 435, and she used it with some frequency for whatever purpose.<sup>23</sup> Opposition in the Epirote section of the route would have been a serious matter, for the number of practicable paths is limited. But Corinthians met with no difficulty here. How far back the friendship of the Epirote tribes for Corinth went is not known. Periander had connexions among the Thesprotians,<sup>24</sup> who were in all probability the tribe which occupied in his day the dominant position enjoyed by the Chaonians in the latter half of the fifth century, and by the Molossians in Pindar's time and in the fourth century.<sup>25</sup> There were two factors which, in the early years of the Peloponnesian War, smoothed the path of Corinthians in Epirus. Their bad relations with Corcyra may have made the natives feel that Corinthians were a natural friend,<sup>26</sup> for Corcyra had occupied part of the coast<sup>27</sup> and may have been an imperfect neighbour; and in

<sup>13</sup> See below, note 29.

<sup>14</sup> Thuc. II, 30.

<sup>15</sup> Thuc. IV, 77, 2.

<sup>16</sup> Thuc. II, 80, 3.

<sup>17</sup> Thuc. II, 80, 3.

<sup>18</sup> Thuc. IV, 42, 3. Corinth had 500 men on garrison duty, 300 in Ambracia (III, 114, 4), 50 200 in Leucas. Since it must have been unwillingness to bear this type of standing expense which prevented the fortification of a Decelea in the

<sup>19</sup> Thuc. I, 111, 3.

<sup>20</sup> Thuc. IV, 49.

<sup>21</sup> Thuc. II, 33, 1.

<sup>22</sup> Thuc. III, 114, 4.

Archidamian war (*cf.* Thuc. I, 142), it is instructive to find the Corinthians ready to spend on the security of the north-west.

<sup>23</sup> Thuc. V, 30, 2.

<sup>24</sup> To be popular in Epirus, as the Corinthians were (Thuc. I, 50, 3; *cf.* I, 47, 3), they must have been fairly well known.

<sup>25</sup> Herod. V, 92, 7. Thuc. I, 47, 3 implies a long standing friendship.

<sup>26</sup> *Cf.* Thuc. I, 50, 3.

<sup>27</sup> Cross, *Epirus* p. 6, note 2.

<sup>28</sup> Thuc. III, 85, 2.



Ambracia Corinth had a very powerful ally. Before the disaster of 429, Ambracia held Amphilocheian hostages,<sup>28</sup> and could dispose of a fleet of at least 27 ships and something less than 5000 hoplites.<sup>29</sup> The latter figure is the same as that which Herodotus gives for Corinth herself in the Plataea campaign, and larger, in the ratio of 5:3, than that for Sicyon. Furthermore, the most influential Epirote tribe, the Chaonians, was in alliance with the city. The Chaonians exercised some form of suzerainty over the Thresprotians,<sup>30</sup> who lived north of the gulf of Ambracia and south of the Thyamis,<sup>31</sup> now the Kalamas. For the big invasion of 429 the Molossians and the more northerly tribes also furnished contingents, but they looked to the Chaonians for example,<sup>32</sup> and did not continue the struggle when the 'most warlike nation' had been defeated. The Chaonian alliance would be enough to ensure that Corinthians were not molested in their journeys across Epirus.

There are several other points of interest and relevance to the land route about this invasion of Acarnania. Perdiccas of Macedon sent 1000 men to join the expedition; this is the earliest recorded instance of the movement of troops over the Kastoria-Korça route<sup>33</sup> from Macedon to Epirus; for, as the contingent was sent without the knowledge of the Athenians, it cannot well have been sent over the Thessalian passes.<sup>34</sup> It must be assumed too that Perdiccas, who was an astute man, did not send his troops down to Epirus without some good reason. He had plenty to do at home, for in the winter of 430 Potidaea had been taken by the Athenians; and after their support of Philip and Derdas two years previously he had little confidence in them, nor they in him. But it is easy to see how Perdiccas came to believe that the subjection of Acarnania to Corinth and Ambracia was worth the risk of losing a thousand men and an immediate rupture with Athens; for that Perdiccas knew the Athenians would not tolerate his invasion of Acarnania is proved by the fact that he sent the troops secretly.<sup>35</sup> His aim must have been to demonstrate conclusively to the Corinthians, that, if they wished, they could get troops into the Thracian area without going through Thessaly. It was taken as axiomatic that they could not do this,<sup>36</sup> though the march of Brasidas proved that the belief was not altogether true. In any case the march of Brasidas was merely a gallant *tour de force*, was felt to be such, and could not be repeated.<sup>37</sup> If Acarnania was subdued, there was nothing to stop a Peloponnesian force, once over the gulf, from marching to the support of the Chalcidian revolt; and to his own support, which no doubt appealed more strongly to Perdiccas. The failure of the invasion of 429, the defeat of the Ambraciotes in 427 and the capture of Oeniadae in 424, and finally the revolt of the Lyncestae from Perdiccas<sup>38</sup> and the orientation of Molossia<sup>39</sup> towards Athens meant that the route was never used in the Peloponnesian war. It is evident that the two first factors mentioned were enough to make the route dangerous; Brasidas chose to risk the march through Thessaly even before the capture of Oeniadae.

Something can be deduced about the route by which the Corinthians used to traverse Epirus. It is obvious that they would follow the Louros valley towards the plain of Hellopia, now the Janina district, leaving the inhospitable hills of Thesprotia on their left.<sup>40</sup> The hills fall steeply down to the sea, and there is no good coast route. For another reason too this way was to be avoided. North of the Kalamas lay Cestrine,<sup>41</sup> which was not, apparently, part of the Chaonian-Ambraciot alliance; it sent no contingent to Acarnania in 429. This part of the mainland was no doubt under Corcyraean influence; some of it was definitely in Corcyraean hands,<sup>42</sup> and there may have been a number of fortress towns dotted up and down the coast south of the Acroceraunian mountains. There were certainly two settlements of great natural strength, probably in origin Corcyraean. Buthrotus<sup>43</sup> commanded the entrance to Lake Butrinto and a route going inland to the Dryno valley, and thence to the plain of Janina. From Himára, presumably the ancient Chimaera,<sup>44</sup> one route, followed by the modern road, rises over the Logará pass and drops down to the valley of the Dukatit river, which it follows to the south end of the Bay of Valona. This route is merely hard work, the Logará being a steep and exhausting grass slope on the south side and wooded on the northern. It presented, for instance, few problems to Caesar, who, landing at Palaeste, marched over the pass and came down to the sea at Oricus on the same day.<sup>45</sup>

The other route which starts from the Himara neighbourhood is a difficult hill track leading inland over the southern end of the Acroceraunian mountains to the valley of the Shushicë, entailing one rough traverse of the slopes of Mount Çipit at about 700 metres. From the Shushicë valley

<sup>28</sup> Thuc. III, 114, 3.

<sup>29</sup> Thuc. III, 105, 1: 3,000 hoplites go to Olpae, not a full levy, as they later send for reinforcement to come πανθημι (III, 110, 1). From the second force the Athenians and Acarnanians took 'more than 1,000 panoplies' (III, 113, 4); this means that the second force was not more than c. 2,000 strong, as the defeat was severe (III, 112, 8 ὅλγιοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἰσώθησαν). 5,000 seems a reasonable estimate.

<sup>30</sup> Thuc. II, 80, 6; cf. 81, 4.

<sup>31</sup> Thuc. II, 81, 4.

<sup>32</sup> See N. G. L. Hammond in *BSA* XXXII, 141.

<sup>33</sup> See Thuc. II, 22, 2 for Athens' Thessalian allies; and cf. IV, 78, 4.

<sup>34</sup> Thuc. II, 80, 7.

<sup>35</sup> The general principle is stated in the Pseudo-Xenophontic *Ath. Pol.* II, 5.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Thuc. IV, 132.

<sup>37</sup> By 424, if not sooner, Thuc. IV, 79, 2.

<sup>38</sup> See below, p. 65.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Hammond, *op. cit.* 146.

<sup>40</sup> Thuc. I, 46, 5.

<sup>41</sup> Thuc. III, 85, 2.

<sup>42</sup> Hecataeus fr. 106 in Jacoby, *FGH* I. So the place is at least sixth century. There is a terrace wall above the theatre which might be as early. I unfortunately failed to penetrate the Museum, so cannot judge of the probability of its being earlier.

<sup>43</sup> Procopius, *de aedificiis* IV, 4 (Vol. III, p. 279 of the Bonn edition). On the dating of the wall see Appendix.

<sup>44</sup> *Bell. Civ.* III, 6; 11, 2; cf. Lucan, *Pharsalia* V, 460. For the identification see Leake, *Northern Greece*, i, 5 ff. The Logará is 1035 metres high.



a route leads over the watershed to Plloca overlooking the Vijosë (Aous) valley and, though not too easy in its early stages, is a fairly obvious line of communication.<sup>46</sup>

But it is clear that the Corinthians did not use either of these routes, which start from the mainland opposite and under the influence of Corcyra<sup>47</sup> and would so have put the Corinthians at their enemies' mercy.<sup>48</sup> In times of peace the routes might have been used, but the sea would be a more attractive alternative, so that it is not likely that they were. The Corinthians probably used the Dryno valley route, which led through the Chaonian country to the Vijosë valley and the Illyrians. Between the Dryno, one of the pleasantest and most obvious lines of communication in all Epirus, and the plain of Janina, there is no serious obstacle.<sup>49</sup>

By whatever route the Corinthians reached Apollonia, by whatever route Perdiccas reached Ambracia, Molossia, the plain of Janina, was a key position, the point where the routes from Thessaly, from Illyria, from Macedonia, from the Gulf of Ambracia, and from the Corcyra channel, converged.<sup>50</sup> It was here that Attic diplomacy got to work to discomfit the Peloponnesians and Macedonians. When the Molossians invaded Acarnania in 429, they were commanded by one Sabylinthus, the regent of their king, Tharyps, who was still a boy.<sup>51</sup> It must have been shortly after this that Tharyps went to Athens to be educated, a sure sign of a change in Molossia's foreign policy. After the failure of the invasion it must have been felt that a new orientation was required. It is probable that it was at this time that Tharyps was made an Athenian citizen,<sup>52</sup> and it was certainly during the Archidamian war or the Peace of Nicias that Euripides wrote that powerful piece of anti-Spartan and pro-Molossian propaganda, the *Andromache*.<sup>53</sup> This was not produced at Athens, and may well have been staged at Dodona to the delight of a Molossian audience. In any case Tharyps quickened the pace of the march of civilisation in his kingdom, which meant that he was under Attic influence and was bringing his people up in the same way of thinking. The friendship lasted longer than the Archidamian war, for the oracle at Dodona<sup>54</sup> gave Athens what she badly needed, a moral justification for the Sicilian expedition. The Athenians were bidden to colonise Sicily, and if, after the disaster, the oracle excused itself by saying that Sicily was a place in Attica, it only goes to show that it could not deny that it had been on the side of Athens after the Peace of Nicias.

The connexion of Corinth and her colony at Apollonia seems to have been close in the fifth century. Like most other Corinthian colonies, Apollonia was dutiful towards the mother city,<sup>55</sup> but there are indications that the community of interest found a more concrete expression. There are two recorded incidents in the history of Apollonia in the fifth century, and in both of them she features as the friend of Corinth. In 435 she risked the hatred of the Corcyraeans by receiving the Corinthian expedition to Epidamnus; and about the same time, probably a few years previously, she shared with Corinth the spoils which she won from the Abantis and the town Thronion.<sup>56</sup> Of the reality of this campaign there can be no doubt at all, for the remains of the dedication have been discovered at Olympia;<sup>57</sup> and Corinth's part in it is a natural conclusion from the tradition that Corinth shared the spoils, which is itself hardly likely to be pure invention.

It is argued in the following pages that when Corinth and Apollonia combined to reduce Thronion and the Abantis, they were probably trying to open or secure the land route south which the Corinthians used in 435. The interest which Apollonia had in doing this is perfectly obvious; if she could be reached overland from the south, there was the less risk of her falling under the exclusive influence of Corcyra. It was equally the policy of Corinth to support her colony, especially if it meant easier communication with the north-west. The date of the Apolloniate campaign against Thronion can be determined within certain limits. The statues which the Apolloniates dedicated at Olympia were cut by Lycius, son of Myron, which indicates a date in the second half of the fifth century. He was working as early as 446, though probably not very

<sup>46</sup> There was, however, no Roman road that we know of down this valley. Leake's map marks one, but is quite unreliable (see note 72 below).

<sup>47</sup> Thuc. III, 85, 2. Grundy, *Thucydides*, p. 347, speaks vaguely of a 'road running near the coast to Apollonia and Dyrrachium' (from Ambracia). But it certainly is not the 'great natural route' of which he speaks (the Arta-Dryno route is far more obvious and less exacting); there is today no decent coast route from Prevesa to the Forty Saints, and a coast route from Apollonia to Dyrrachium meant crossing two large and sprawling rivers at their widest, probably with marshland between them. So his view is to be rejected.

<sup>48</sup> Thuc. I, 26, 2.

<sup>49</sup> This is the route followed by the modern road from Janina to Argyrocastro and Tepeleni. It was also used by Lord Byron in 1809. The route following the upper Vijosë valley is somewhat longer and more difficult.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. the accompanying map.

<sup>51</sup> Thuc. II, 80, 6. <sup>52</sup> Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 228 shows that Tharyps was made an Athenian citizen, but leaves the date uncertain. It is, however, clear that Tharyps was educated at Athens during the Archidamian war. Nilsson, *Studien zur Geschichte des alten*

*Epeiros*, 44-5, rejects the tradition (Plut. *Pyrrhus* i; Justin XVII, 3, 11), but his arguments are not very cogent. The tradition is accepted by Cross, *op. cit.* p. 12, and D. S. Robertson, *Class. Rev.* 1923, 58 ff., to which article I am indebted for its connexion of the *Andromache* with Molossia and Tharyps. D. L. Page's arguments that the play was performed at Argos, not Dodona as Robertson suggests, does not affect Robertson's identification of Molossus and Tharyps (see *Greek Poetry and Life*, pp. 227-8, and note 2 on p. 227).

<sup>53</sup> Paus. VIII, 11, 12.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Thuc. I, 38, 3; 25, 4. <sup>55</sup> Paus. V, 22, 3 ff. Ταῦτά ἐστιν ἔργα μὲν Λυκίου τοῦ Μύρωνος, Ἀπολλωνιάται δὲ ἀνέστησαν οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ καὶ δὴ καὶ Δαγείων γράμμασιν ἐστὶν ἀρχαίοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῖς ποσὶ.

μόλις Ἀπολλωνίας ἀνακείμεθα, τὰν ἐνὶ πάντῳ Ἰονίῳ Φοῖβος ἄριστος ἀκροακόμενος. οἱ γὰρ τέρας θ' ἔλόντες Ἀβαντίους ἐθαδε ταῦτα ἵστασαν σὺν θεοῖς ἐκ Θρονίου δεκάταν.

Ἡ δὲ Ἀβαντίς καλουμένη χώρα καὶ πόλις ἐν αὐτῇ Θρόνον Τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος ἦσαν ἡπείρου κατ' ὄρη τὰ Κεράννια . . . . . ἀποικισθῆναι δὲ ἐκ κορκόρας τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν \*\*\* οἱ δὲ Κορινθίους αὐτοῖς μετῴναι λαφύρων.

<sup>56</sup> *Inscriptionen von Olympia*, no. 692.



much before this, if his father's floruit is the first half of the century.<sup>57</sup> The inscription on the base of the group at Olympia, only one word of which, ΜΕΜΝΟΝ, has survived, points to a date some time before 400. The lettering is not likely to be Attic, but could be Corinthian, as one would expect in an Apolloniate dedication in which Corinth had an interest. The letters do not look to be by any means the most developed type; they tell in favour of a date early, rather than late, in the career of the son of Myron.<sup>58</sup> It is highly improbable that an Athenian would be given an Apolloniate contract when Athens and Corinth were at war, nor is it likely that, after 435, Corinth was in a position to send troops to the north-west to help Apollonia. Again, as the route was open in 435, there is some reason for putting the reduction of the Abantis before that. Tentatively, then, one may date the Apolloniate campaign against Thronion between 450 and 435.

The Abantis district can be identified with some certainty. It is clear from a number of sources, e.g. from Pausanias and from Stephanus of Byzantium, sub Ἀβαντία, that the district Abantis can be safely connected with the later town Amantia, which was presumably situated in it. The contemporary epigram does not mention a city Amantia; the fourth-century Scylax<sup>59</sup> says that the Oricians lived in the territory of Amantia; Stephanus calls Amantia<sup>60</sup> not a city, but 'a district of the Illyrians', which seems to be the early tradition. But there was in the fourth century a city Amantia, 320 stades south of Apollonia, with 60 stades of seaboard.<sup>61</sup> The Peutinger Table put it 30 miles south of Apollonia on the road to Hadrianopolis, which is not very helpful, as we do not know where Hadrianopolis was. It must have been somewhere in the Dryno valley, but many villages between Argyrocastro and the frontier have ancient remains near or in them, and we cannot say for certain which should be taken as the site of Hadrianopolis. Ptolemy<sup>62</sup> put Amantia north of Oricus and south of Byllis. Of the cities above mentioned, the sites of Apollonia and Byllis are absolutely certain on epigraphic evidence, and no one who has seen Palaeocastro, the hill at the south end of the Bay of Valona, can have any doubt that there is the site of the city, which, in Pliny's words, 'has ceased to be an island'.<sup>63</sup> So the identification of the Abantis is not disputable. It was the district south of Byllis and east of the gulf of Valona, the lower Shushicë valley and the hills which separate it from the sea and from the Vjosë valley. But the exact site of Thronion is uncertain. Pausanias says that it was in the Abantis. Within this limit we have to choose between three sites. The Byzantine fortress on the hill of Kánina, 8 kilometres south-east of Valona, stands on or near the site of a Hellenic fortress, as the ancient blocks are still visible in the mediaeval wall of rubble and mortar (fig. 15). These are in general smooth and four-sided, square or rectangular or trapezoidal or approximately so, and have nothing in common with the most characteristic type of Greek masonry found on Epirote and Illyrian soil, the most marked feature of which is the huge size of the stones, as large, in the extreme case of Phoenice, as three metres square. At Kánina 1.25 metres is an outside length. Furthermore, some of the stones in a tower on the northern side show signs of corner drafting, a refinement which indicates that the existing Greek remains are more likely to be of Hellenistic than of classical date. However, there is some reason to believe that the site was occupied earlier, as, among the many sherds to be picked up off the surface, I discovered one which might well be seventh century and cannot well be much later than the sixth.<sup>64</sup>

Another possible site is Klos, a village on a hill which rises east of the Vjosë where it turns west towards the sea. The Greek fortification has a number of early features and is probably pre-fourth century (fig. 8).<sup>65</sup> It has been argued by Praschniker that Klos cannot be Amantia, as has been suggested.<sup>66</sup> The mere statement that it is too near Byllis (1400 metres) to be a possible site for an independent city does not really do justice to the strength of the case against this identification. Byllis towers above Klos and commands the best lines of approach, which climb up the saddle joining the two hills, the lower of which can never have been a free city when Byllis was fortified and inhabited. The latter site is late; Amantia, and not Byllis, is mentioned by the fourth-century Scylax, and the walls are of Hellenistic date (fig. 12).<sup>67</sup> It is possible, then, that Klos was Thronion,

<sup>57</sup> References in Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, ed. 2, p. 205.

<sup>58</sup> The above remarks are based on the letter chart in Larfeld's *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* I. Cf. especially the *M* and the *N*.

<sup>59</sup> Pseudo-Scylax 26.

<sup>60</sup> Stephanus of Byzantium, sub Ἀβαντία.

<sup>61</sup> Pseudo-Scylax, loc. cit.

<sup>62</sup> Ptolemy III, 12 and 13.

<sup>63</sup> Pliny *NH* II, 204. The identification was first suggested by Heuzey-Daumet, *Mission Archéologique de Macédoine*, 403 ff.; since the visit of Patsch (*Sandschak Berat in Albanien*, figs. 53, 54) there can be no doubt about the matter. Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria*, p. 323, says that there are no 'epigraphic or other records' from the site; but I saw ancient blocks in the walls of the Kila i Marmireit, a few kilometres S.E. across the lagoon, though the police post on Palaeocastro itself prevented me from finding the originals of Patsch's figures. There are some late Attic b.f. lecythi of inferior artistic value in the Vlore collection in Valona. Ugolini, *Albania Antica* I, plate LXI, p. 96, suggests that most of them were found on the Pasha Liman (Oricus), but none of the proveniences are cer-

tain; there is an equal probability that the pots came from Pojani (Apollonia), though I do not doubt that Oricus was an early settlement. I owe this information, and much other help and encouragement, to the kindness of His Excellency Senator Ekrem Bey Vlore.

<sup>64</sup> The clay of the sherd is between orange and yellow in colour, and nearly fine enough to be Attic. The pattern was geometric (orange stripe, separated from a brown band by a stripe of unpainted clay, followed by an orange stripe, a brown stripe, and another orange stripe).

<sup>65</sup> I try to justify this dating in the Appendix. Unpleasant as it is to use the Roman name Byllis and the Albanian name Klos in conjunction, it is perhaps the lesser of evils, since the modern Albanian (Slav) name sometimes used of Byllis, Gradiste, is used by the inhabitants of Klos of both hills.

<sup>66</sup> E.g. by G. Veith, quoted by Praschniker in *Jahreshefte* 1922 *Beiblatt* I, 91, to which admirable discussion of the ancient and modern topography of such part of the Muzakchia and Malakstra as was held by the Austro-Hungarian troops during the War of 1914-18 I am very deeply indebted.

<sup>67</sup> See Appendix.



and after the Apolloniate campaign, the city lost importance and its place was taken by Byllis.

But I doubt if the combined probability that Thronion was on either of the above-mentioned sites is as great as the probability that it is to be looked for somewhat farther south. Pausanias says that it was a city of Thesprotian Epirus. This has a peculiar interest, and fills one with confidence in Pausanias, for it must go back ultimately to a source of the age when the Thesprotians were the dominant tribe in Epirus; that is, before the fifth century, when the northern limit of Thesprotia was the Kalamas,<sup>68</sup> and the shrine of Thesprotian Zeus of Dodona was in Molossia.<sup>69</sup> It also indicates that Thronion should be sought in the south, rather than the north, of the Abantis, an idea which is confirmed by the remark that it was near the Ceraunian mountains. It is on the whole most likely that Thronion should be identified with Plloca. This very impressive site was first discovered by Patsch, who argued with great cogency for its identification with Amantia.<sup>70</sup> His conclusion met with wide acceptance, e.g. from Praschniker and Pace.<sup>71</sup> His arguments appear decisive, though as the site of Amantia is not of direct importance for the identification of Thronion, there is no need to restate his arguments.

The case for Thronion is as follows. Plloca is on the southern fringe of the Illyrian country, being not more than 6 hours north-west of the Dryno valley, and separated from it by the Vjosë and some ridges which, if steep, are not precipitous. It thus fits what Pausanias says about Thesprotian Epirus. Since it is on a spur of the mountains which form the Vjosë-Shushicë water-



FIG. 1.—HILL OF PLOCA: SUGGESTED SITE OF THRONION.

shed, his remark 'among the Ceraunian mountains' is intelligible, without being strictly accurate. Pausanias or his source can be pardoned when it is remembered that even Col. Leake blundered badly on the geography of the Shushicë region, putting towns in the valley which lay more than a full day's march east of it and having no idea of the distance to which it extended southward.<sup>72</sup>

The site is magnificent, fully deserving the name Thronion (fig. 1), and of great natural strength. The south-west side falls sheer away, and the other sides are uncomfortably steep. The fortifications present several problems, but I think that the walls of the sheer side must be pre-fourth century in parts. Finally, the place has great importance on the land route south. Today the two roads from Valona to Argyrôcastro converge exactly at the hill of Plloca, which lies in the angle between them.

The men who founded Thronion, wherever was the site, may well have been Greeks, though the inhabitants of the later city Amantia were almost certainly hellenised Illyrians. Their coins, said to be Hellenistic, with the head of Zeus of Dodona,<sup>73</sup> show that they did absorb Greek culture;

<sup>68</sup> Thuc. I, 46, 4.

<sup>69</sup> Cross, *op. cit.* p. 6, note 2, pointing out the significance of Homer *Od.* XIV, 315, Strabo VII, 328 (Thesprotian control of Dodona before rise of Molossia); cf. Aeschylus *PV* 829-31: ἐπὶ γὰρ ἤλθες πρὸς Μολοσσῶν γένεσσι, | τὴν αἰὸνικὴν ἴσμεν ἄμφω Δωδώνην, ἵνα | μαντεῖα δῶκός τ' ἐστὶ Θεσπρωτοῦ Διὸς . . . .

<sup>70</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 33 ff. If Thronion was destroyed in the fifth century, it is possible that the later city Amantia was built on the same site. Plloca may be both Thronion and Amantia. There has, so far as I know, been no discussion of the site of Thronion.

<sup>71</sup> *Annuario* III, 287. Casson, *op. cit.* 323, does not consider the suggestion.

<sup>72</sup> This is clear from his map, as well as from his discussion of the site of Amantia (*Travels in Northern Greece* I, 376). In view of the fact that his suggestion that Amantia should be identified with Nivica on the Bences is still sometimes repeated (e.g. by Casson, *op. cit.* 323), it may be worth while to say something about the history of this identification, which is also not without its own interest. Neither de Pouqueville

nor Leake could go to Nivica, as it was not under the control of the Pasha of Janina (*Voyage de la Grèce* I, 337 and *Travels in Northern Greece* I, 89); they both went wrong over the position of this insignificant village, putting it in the Shushicë valley, while actually it is very well on the Vjosë side of the watershed; and they were both told about its wealth in ancient remains. Leake was even told details, viz. that the walls resembled those of Himara. Yet, though one hesitates to make such a statement categorically, there are no such remains at Nivica. This was pointed out by Von Hahn in the middle of last century (*Albanesische Studien*, p. 33, note 66). He visited the place, found nothing, and despite his excellent command of the language, heard of nothing. Nothing is to be seen there today. The idea that Nivica was Amantia is in any case fantastic, as there was a Roman road from Apollonia to Nicopolis passing through Amantia, and Nivica is one of the more inaccessible places; one can say at once that there was never a road to it.

<sup>73</sup> Head, *Historia Numorum* ed. 2, p. 313.



but that they were barbarians is stated by Pliny,<sup>74</sup> and, implicitly, by Stephanus of Byzantium.<sup>75</sup> But this does not alter the case for the Greek origin of the inhabitants of Thronion, for Pausanias calls it a city in, not a city of, the Abantis.

It must be admitted that at first sight the idea of Locrians and Abantes founding a city called Thronion in a district called Abantis<sup>76</sup> sounds very suspicious; the onus of proof certainly falls on those who wish to maintain that the whole tradition is not based on the coincidence of the similarity of name. It should, however, be emphasised that the name Abantis was given to the district by the Apollonians in the fifth century, and the name used on the coins is the Am- form, which appears in all later authors. It looks rather, then, as if the real name of the district was Amantis, or Amantine or some such form. The first of these never occurs, so that it is not immediately obvious why, if there were no Euboeans in the neighbourhood, anyone should invent the word Abantis and the mythical connexion with Euboea. Amantia and Abantis are not very similar words. It is at least as likely that there were really Euboeans in the neighbourhood and that this caused the invention of the by-form Abantis which appears in the Apolloniate epigram, as that the by-form, which, as has been said, is not used later, gave rise to the story that there were Euboeans near by.

It is very likely that Oricus was a Euboean settlement;<sup>77</sup> the island had apparently given its name to the bay of Valona by the end of the sixth century,<sup>78</sup> which ought to mean that the city was founded some time earlier. However, it could be objected that Oricus was in the Amantine neighbourhood and so should not be used as independent evidence. The Euboean settlement on Corcyra<sup>79</sup> and the mainland opposite<sup>80</sup> is, however, good independent evidence of Euboean activity in the north-west, which inclines one to accept the tradition of the origin of Oricus.

There is nothing intrinsically improbable in the idea that there were also eastern Locrians at Thronion; that there was a city of this name near the Acroceraunian mountains in the fifth century cannot be doubted, and it is more likely that it owed its name to Locrians, than that its name give rise to a Locrian tradition. The latter hypothesis is most improbable, because in historic times Locrian Thronion was not at all an important place. There is certainly nothing surprising in the idea of a joint colony of Euboeans and Locrians, for the eastern Locrians, who colonised Epirote Thronion and, if we follow Ephorus,<sup>81</sup> Italian Locri, were inevitably in close contact with the islanders. There is no ground for doubting the substantial accuracy of the Eusebian dating of the foundation of the Epizephyrian Locri,<sup>82</sup> the Locrian origin of which is not seriously disputed, so that it is reasonable to accept the tradition of Locrian colonists in the north-west at a date sufficiently early in the first wave of colonisation to be connected with the fall of Troy.

The reduction of the Abantis cannot have been easy. It abounds in good defensive positions such as Klos, Kánina, and Plloca. During the War of 1914-18 the Italians contrived to maintain themselves there against the Austro-Hungarian troops, who held the Apolloniate territory, as far south as Klos. This is an indication of the defensive strength of the district. It is also poor land compared to the Muzakhia and the smiling Gjanica valley. It would be illegitimate to assume on this evidence alone that the Apollonians fought the Thronion campaign to open the land route rather than for spoil or out of pure neighbourliness. But the enlistment of Corinthian help in the forties or the thirties does imply that Apollonia was fighting for something in which Corinth was interested; so there is some probability that it was partly, at least, its position on the land route which led to the reduction of Thronion.

Apollonia does not seem to have maintained herself in the hills of the Abantis for very long. Amantia was apparently independent and important enough in the fourth century to be mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax (26). Molossia, the next stage in the route, fell under Attic influence and the Corinthian failure in Acarnania made the initial section hazardous. By 423 the Lyncestae had come out against Perdiccas and endangered the variation route to Macedon. Under these circumstances it is understandable that there is no mention of the land route in connexion with, for instance, the attempt to reinforce Brasidas in 423, when the expedition had to turn back without even trying to cross Thessaly. The closing of the route was one of the solid gains to Athens which resulted from the Archidamian war, and conversely one of Corinth's losses which Sparta decided to overlook.

#### APPENDIX

##### ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF SOME GREEK FORTIFICATIONS IN EPIRUS AND ILLYRIA

The study of Greek walls is still in an infancy in which approved methods and assured results are very few. On the negative side, however, it is clear that Epirote and Illyrian walls cannot be dated purely by comparison with Attic, since even within so close a cultural unity as Attica the time-lag between technique in town and country is apparent (Wrede, *Attische Mauern*, p. 43). Yet I would be willing to maintain the truth of two principles, which can be used to establish a relative

<sup>74</sup> *NH* III, 145.

<sup>75</sup> Paus. *loc. cit.*

<sup>76</sup> Hecataeus fr. 106.

<sup>77</sup> A. A. Blakeway, *BSA* XXXIII, p. 205, note 4.

<sup>78</sup> Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius IV, 1175.

<sup>79</sup> The best discussion of the eastern Locrians and their

<sup>80</sup> Steph. Byz., sub 'Απυρρία.

<sup>81</sup> Pseudo-Scymnus 441-3.

relation to Epizephyrian Locri, and of Locrians in general, is Oldfather's article in *R.E.* XIII sub *Lokroi*; his conclusion is that the Italian colony was probably a mixed city, with elements from both eastern and western Locri. He accepts the Epirote Thronion tradition, though naturally tentatively.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Johansen, *Les Vases Sicyoniennes*, p. 182.



chronology for the walls under consideration. I. Fortifications in the same style in the same area are likely to be approximately contemporary, when there are examples of a number of styles in the said area. 2. If in any area there are walls of different styles, *a b c d*, and in any other area walls of these styles occur and can be dated, *a* earlier than *b*, *b* than *c*, etc., then in any one area it is likely that examples of *a* will be earlier than examples of *b*. Put concretely, this means that if there was a development from Cyclopean to worked polygonal to ashlar in Attica, it is likely that polygonal walls in Illyria are earlier than ashlar.

An 'area' might be defined as a cultural unity, or a district exposed to the same cultural influences. Illyria and Epirus fall into the latter category, as the most important Greek cultural



FIG. 2.—OLDEST WALL AT LISSUS (LESH).



FIG. 3.—LISSUS II.

influences in the district here under consideration, the mainland north of the Gulf of Arta, where in the fifth century Greece proper ended (Herod. VIII, 47), as far as the barrier of the Albanian Alps and the Durmitor chain, came from Corinthian colonies, Corcyra, Apollonia, and Epidamnus. The chronological scheme outlined below is frankly tentative, if for no other reason than that it is impossible to prove the truth of either of the assumptions mentioned above. In so far as they are susceptible of analysis, they look to be in part inductions from dated wall series, and in part wholly *a priori*, though the assumption which they entail is common to nearly all archaeological dating, viz. that there are no casual reversions to the style of a previous generation.

I think that the basis of an absolute chronology of Albanian and Epirote walls must rest on



FIG. 3(a).—LISSUS II.



FIG. 4.—LISSUS III. TOWER OF CITADEL.

Lissus (Albanian 'Lesh', Italian 'Alessio'), the city on the Drin which was colonised by Dionysius of Syracuse (Diod. Sic. XV, 13, 4; 14, 2; I have tried to show in *JHS* 1936, 202-3, that there should be no doubt about this). Excellent plans of both Lissus and Acrolissus are to be seen in Praschniker's and Schober's *Archäologische Forschungen in Albanien und Montenegro*, pp. 15, 24. Though Praschniker was hurried and did not concern himself primarily with the masonry, he did not fail to notice that the walls were not similar in style. He accounted for this by referring to the slope of the ground and the supposed care with which the towers had been built. I do not think that his view is tenable. The wall illustrated in Fig. 2 is patently different in style (and earlier) than that in Fig. 3, and is not on sloping ground at all, but on a flat shoulder half-way down the hill of Lissus on the sea side. Again, I know of no assured parallel for the construction of towers in an altogether different style from that of the curtain (*cf.* Figs. 3 and 4). At Oniadæ, where polygonal walls



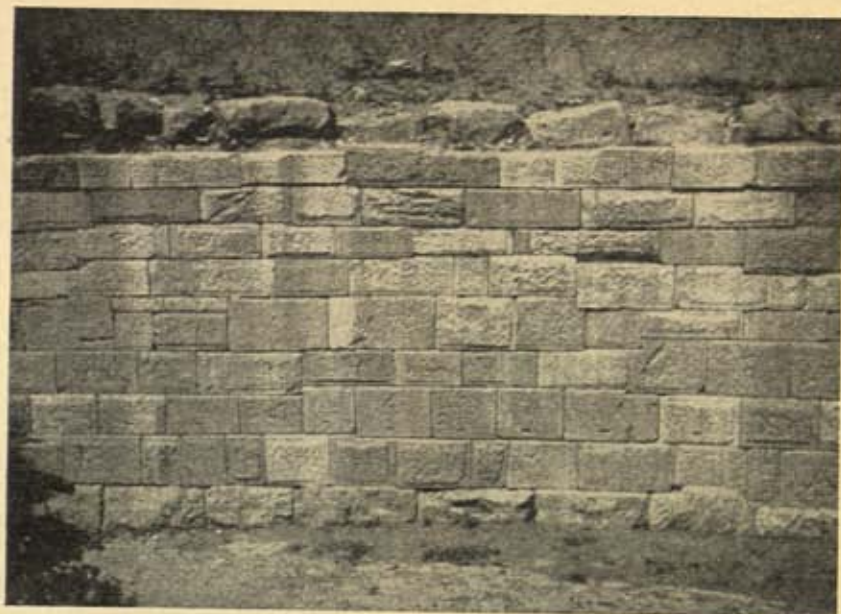


FIG. 5.—TERRACE-WALL AT APOLLONIA ILLYRICA (POJANI).



FIG. 6.—PILLOCA. OLDEST WALL.



FIG. 7.—Χίμαρα (HIMÁRA). OLDEST WALL.



FIG. 8.—KLOS.



FIG. 9.—HIMÁRA.





FIG. 10.—PLLOCA.



FIG. 11.—GATEWAY AT BUTRINTO.



FIG. 12.—BYLLIS.



FIG. 13.—PLLOCA. GATEWAY ON S. SIDE.



FIG. 14.—BUTRINTO. WALL ABOVE THEATRE.



FIG. 15.—KÁNINA. HELLENIC BLOCKS IN BYZANTINE  
(? VENETIAN) WALL.




FIG. 16.—KISA I MARMIREIT (ORICUS) HELLENIC BLOCKS  
CHURCH.



FIG. 17.—PHOENICE (FINIK).







have been opened to receive ashlar towers, there is some reason to believe that the latter are later. (This point will, I hope, shortly be dealt with by Mr. R. L. Scranton of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, to whose help and encouragement and generosity in allowing me to see his work on Greek fortifications before its publication I am very deeply indebted.)

There are, then, traces of several refortifications at Lissus. Most of the surviving walls there, and, so far as I could judge, all the walls on Acrolissus, are as Fig. 3, a type of coursed polygonal, the most marked characteristic of which is the avoidance of joins which run very far from the vertical or the horizontal (cf. in contrast Fig. 2); blocks may have six sides, but that is because a corner has been cut out, so , and regular hexagons do not occur. Many blocks are trapezoidal, some rectangular. In fact, this type of rough coursed rectilinear polygonal is approximating to coursed trapezoidal, which, indeed, occurs in one of the towers on the S.E. side of the citadel (Fig. 4). The chiselled surface of the blocks is, so far as I know, unique in Illyria and Epirus. It will be convenient to refer to the uncoursed polygonal style as Lissus I, and the coursed style as Lissus II.

The problem is to decide which wall was built by Dionysius. It seems certain that he must have either found fortifications there in very good repair, or fortified the place himself, as his aim in colonising the place was to extend his influence on the mainland. We are, then, justified in attributing one wall to the late fifth or early fourth century. I incline to believe that Lissus II, the style in which both Acrolissus and Lissus have been systematically fortified, is most likely to be the work of Dionysius. Lissus I looks earlier than the fourth century. In view of the discovery of 6th and 5th century Greek imports up the Drin (see *JHS* 1936, 184-5), and the probable Corinthian exploitation of the iris which thrived in the valley, there is no difficulty in supposing that there was a Greek trading post at Lissus, which has left traces in Lissus I. Every consideration of history and geography demands it. The argument that Lissus I must be pre-fourth century from its resemblance to early walls in Greece has a certain validity, because there is no reason why we should suppose that there was a very great time-lag between Illyrian and Greek walls. Lissus was only a day's sail north of Epidamnus, which was by no means cut off from Greece (cf. Paus. VI, 1, 2; Herod. VI, 127, 2). Furthermore, the beautiful terrace wall at Apollonia (fig. 5) and the very large number of Hellenic fortifications in middle Albania would lead one to suppose that wall building was not an art neglected by the Greek colonists in the north-west. The view that walls in far-away colonial areas must necessarily be later than walls of similar style in Greece is as fallacious as the opposite contention that they must be nearly contemporary; it is interesting to note that the remote colony of Paestum has one of the earliest examples of the use of headers and stretchers in a fortification wall, if, as is *a priori* probable, the wall to be seen there is sixth century.

There are many walls in Epirus and Illyria in a style which is manifestly similar to Lissus II, but most of them are far rougher in construction. The edges of the stones at Lissus fit very neatly and the centre bulges out from them in a way that suggests the evolution of rustication. But at Klos, Plloca, and Medun the joins are rougher, the proportion of stones more than 1.50 m. in length is far higher, and the shapely bulge is missing.

The suggestion that the fortification of the three latter sites is earlier than that of Lissus II is confirmed by the fact that the towers in the Lissus II system are more developed; they are in some sense independent entities, so , and once so , not mere modifications of the curtain, as at Medun, so , and as at Klos, where the only suspicion of a tower is at the northern corner, so , while the south side goes *à crémaillère*. The N.E. and S.E. walls are entirely devoid of refinements. (See the sketch in Praschniker, *Jahreshefte* 1922, cols. 83, 84; I am under many obligations to this article, which brought to my notice the fact that the lower Vjosë valley and the adjacent Malakastra were liberally dotted with Greek fortifications. I see no reason why the Shushicë valley should not also repay exploration, though I have, as yet, been able to give it only the most cursory inspection.) The walls of Plloca have never been systematically studied. At present I can only say with confidence that there are examples of several styles there, and that there are no towers along the south side, except at the gates, which are built in a later style than the wall itself. It is hard to say whether the occasional *à crémaillère* effect is intentional or not, but I incline to think that the wall merely follows the crag at its sheerest. It is a rougher variety of the Lissus II style.

There is a polygonal wall on the N.W. side which resembles Lissus I, and another which constitutes a problem, as there is a rubble core behind the unmortared parament. If Plloca is Amantia, this might be the Byzantine wall mentioned in Procopius *de aedificiis* IV, 4. But I take it that it is likely enough that Justinian's masons built the core behind the Hellenic parament, which they left unmortared, though, if they did this, they must have modified their core-building technique to suit the circumstances.



I append a list of walls which I have inspected in a suggested chronological sequence.

Lissus I (before c. 400?):

Plloca (Fig. 6).

Himára (Fig. 7).

Terrace wall at Butrinto.

Lissus II (most frequent Epirote-Illyrian style, probably mostly earlier than Lissus II, i.e. fifth century):

Klos (Fig. 8).

Himára (Fig. 9).

Plloca (Fig. 10).

Medun (cf. Praschniker und Schober, *Archäologische Forschungen in Albanien und Montenegro*, 3 ff.).

Scutari (*op. cit.* 9-10).

Margellec (*op. cit.* 75 ff.).

In the full Lissus II style:

Doorway at Butrinto (Fig. 11).

Apollonia.

Hellenistic styles:

Lissus III (Fig. 4), trapezoidal style.

Byllis (Fig. 12).

Gates at Plloca (Fig. 13).

Ashlar:

Byllis (Fig. 14).

Apollonia (Fig. 5).

Kánina (Fig. 15).

The blocks in the Kisa i Marmireit are smoothed rectangular, i.e. not likely to have been from any pre-hellenistic building at Oricus (Fig. 16).

Phoenice is a problem. Walls made with these colossal nearly unshaped stones (Fig. 17) are in themselves quite undatable.

R. L. BEAUMONT

#### NOTE BY N. G. L. HAMMOND

Further illustrations and references will be found in R. L. Scranton, *Greek Walls* (1941), pp. 84, 162, 167 and 173 (Lissus); L. M. Ugolini, *Albania Antica* I, p. 113 (Plloca), II, pp. 60 f. (Phoenice), III (Buthrotus); *idem*, 'l'Acropoli di Amantia' in *Rendiconti d. R. acc. naz. d. Lincei* XI (1935), pp. 10-41 (Plloca); *idem*, *Butrinto* (1937), pp. 87, 117 f., 182 (Buthrotus and Phoenice); *ibid.* p. 186 (photograph of Logará pass).



# A GROUP OF EAST GREEK BRONZES \*

[PLATES I-V]

THE six bronzes which it is convenient to take as our starting point have already attracted a certain amount of attention, partly because of their enigmatic subject and partly because they provide a good illustration of an early type of plough. All six bronzes are substantially identical (Plate I). Each represents a naked ploughman standing with feet apart, his left hand on the plough handle, his right behind his back. All are bearded and give the appearance of being bald, though this may not be intended. The ploughs consist of stock, tail with handle, beam, pole, and double yoke.<sup>1</sup> No joints are shown between stock, tail, and beam, which are perhaps all three to be thought of as formed from a single piece of wood. The joint between beam and pole is carefully indicated by a slanting incision or by making them overlap each other. On all but one plough the yoke joins the pole without any suggestion of how it would be attached in real life. On the exception (no. 2) it is fastened by a rivet which allows a small turning movement checked by a lug on the pole. Like the ploughmen the two oxen of each team are standing still. They are yoked by their horns,<sup>2</sup> one (sometimes the right, sometimes the left) facing forwards, the other reversed to face the ploughman. No satisfactory explanation of the reversed ox has been suggested. As Drachmann points out,<sup>3</sup> it can hardly represent the turning of the plough at the end of the furrow; this is usually done by lifting the plough up by the tail and carrying it round. Possibly the reversed ox symbolises in a more general way the *boustrophedon* process of ploughing. But ploughing is so often part of fertility cult that an explanation is perhaps more likely to be found in ritual or magic.<sup>4</sup>

1. PLOUGHMAN WITH TEAM. Pl. Ia. British Museum 52.9-1.13. Acquired in 1852 from the Borrell Coll. H. 5.6 cm. L. 12.8 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Medium green patina. The right-hand ox is reversed. Sotheby's Cat. 26 Aug. 1852, lot 1543; Kemple, *Horae Ferales* 244, pl. XXXIII, 16 = *Archaeologia* XXXVI, pl. 26, 16; Walters, *BMC Bronzes* 13, no. 180; Gow, *JHS* XXXIV, 253 n.; Lamb, *Gk. and Rom. Bronzes* 43; Drachmann in *RE* XXXVIII Halbband, s.v. 'Pflug' 1461.
2. PLOUGHMAN WITH TEAM. Pl. Ib. British Museum 75.3-13.11. Purnell coll. H. 5.6 cm. L. 13.7 cm. Cast solid in two pieces, the yoke being attached to the pole by a rivet. Dark green patina. The stock of the plough has been broken between tail and beam, and both oxen with sections of the yoke are detached. These parts have been reassembled in modern times, but they belong together. The rivet appears to be modern, but the lug on the pole behind the yoke proves that the yoke was similarly attached in antiquity. The left-hand ox is reversed. Walters, *op. cit.* 14, no. 182; Gow, *op. cit.* 253, pl. XIX, 1; Lamb, *op. cit.* 43; Drachmann, *op. cit.* 1461.
3. PLOUGHMAN WITH TEAM. Pl. Ic. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 32.4.5. Duncan bequest. H. 5.5 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Dark green patina. The left-hand ox is reversed.
4. PLOUGHMAN WITH TEAM. Pl. Id. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 32.5. Duncan bequest. H. 5.75 cm. L. 13 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Dark green patina. The left-hand ox has been broken off, but the join is certain; part of its tail is missing. The right-hand ox is reversed.
5. PLOUGHMAN WITH TEAM. Pl. Ie. Copenhagen, National Museum ABA 708; acquired 1855-56. H. 5 cm. L. 9 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Green patina. The right-hand ox, which was reversed, is missing; a detached ox in Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum 16.04; McClean bequest) appears to fit the break.<sup>6</sup> *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (1900) 217 f., fig. 4; Drachmann, *op. cit.* 1461.
6. PLOUGHMAN WITH TEAM. Pl. If. Athens, British School.<sup>7</sup> Finlay coll.; said to have been found at Tchesmé in Asia Minor. H. 6 cm. L. 13 cm. Cast solid in one piece. The bronze has been cleaned and is now dark brown. The left-hand ox is reversed. On the right side of the plough tail, close under the handle, are inscribed vertically two letters which Mrs. Wade-Gery, to whom I owe this information, reads as ΔΔ, or ΔΔ, or ΔΛ, the first letter being the lower.

Understandably the primitive style of these six bronzes has received less attention than their other aspects. Yet their workmanship is sufficiently uniform and distinctive to enable a number of other bronzes to be grouped round them. Typical features are the large noses of the men, their spade beards, the small impressed circles that form the eyes of man and beast, the arching tails of

\* The substance of this article was read as a paper to the Hellenic Society on 8 February, 1949. I am very grateful to Mr. Bernard Ashmole, Professor Martin Robertson and Mr. R. A. Higgins for constant help in its preparation; if their contributions are not individually noted, that is only because they are so many. Plates Ib and Vd, h, i are from photographs kindly taken for me by Mr. Ashmole.

<sup>1</sup> For the early Greek plough see Gow, *JHS* XXXIV, 249-75; Drachmann, *RE* XXXVIII Halbband, s.v. 'Pflug'.

<sup>2</sup> See von Salis in *Corolla Curtius*, 162 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* 1461.

<sup>4</sup> For ceremonial ploughing in Greece cf. the *arotai hieroi* (Harrison and Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, 166 ff.; Kern, *RE* III Halbband 1215 ff.; Ashmole, *JHS* LXVI, 9 f.). Drachmann (*op. cit.* 1471 f.) suggests the possibility of a ritual significance in ploughing naked.

<sup>5</sup> My thanks are due to the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum for permission to publish this and the other Cambridge bronzes.

<sup>6</sup> A cast of the fractured yoke of Copenhagen ABA 708, which Professor P. J. Riis was good enough to send me, appeared to fit the break on the Fitzwilliam ox exactly. On the other hand Dr. Niels Breitenstein, to whom I sent a cast of the Fitzwilliam ox kindly provided by Dr. W. Lamb, is less certain of the join. He tells me that he believes the ox belongs, but that a small part of the yoke appears to be missing. My thanks are due to Dr. Breitenstein and Professor Riis for their help, and to the authorities of the National Museum for permission to publish the Copenhagen bronze.

<sup>7</sup> I am indebted to Mr. J. M. Cook and Mr. Sinclair Hood for information about the bronzes in the British School at Athens. It was Mr. Cook who first drew my attention to Nos. 23, 25, and 32 in my list.



the animals, the simple device of forming feet by pinching forward the bottom of the legs. Characteristic, too, is the lumpy, composite modelling of the wax originals, which the bronze, only roughly and partially cleaned up by filing, faithfully reproduces.

Most of the bronzes are figures of animals and mythological creatures, but there are three more representations of human beings which I take first.

7. COMBAT OF TWO MEN. Pl. IIa. British Museum 75.3-13.10. Borrell and Purnell colls. H. 8.3 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Medium green patina. Most of the sword held by the shorter man is missing. Sotheby's *Cat.*, 26 Aug., 1852, lot 1541; *ibid.* 9 May, 1872, lot 200; Walters, *op. cit.* 14, no. 183.
8. COMBAT OF TWO WOMEN. Pl. IIb. British Museum 52.9-1.10. Acquired in 1852 from the Borrell coll. H. 8.4 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Medium green patina. Sotheby's *Cat.*, 26 Aug., 1852, lot 1533; Walters, *op. cit.* 14, no. 181.

These two groups, of equal size and identically composed, go together. Each of the four combatants repeats the same position: left leg forward, left hand round the other's neck, right hand thrusting a weapon into the other's ribs. A comparable scheme is used for the duel of Gilgamesh and Engidu on an orthostat from the temple-palace of Tell-Halaf.<sup>8</sup> In the bronze groups both men and women are naked. The men's bearded heads closely resemble those of the ploughmen. The long hair of the women, swept back from the brow, falls behind in a tongue-shaped mass, the separate strands marked by incised lines. The pommels on the men's weapons show that they are swords, but the women's weapons look more like wooden staves or clubs. The participation of women and the combatants' nakedness point to ritual rather than actual battle. There is evidence for two kinds of ritual battle in antiquity: those fought to secure success in actual battle and those connected with fertility magic. Women took part in both.<sup>9</sup> Here, in the rural context implied by the ploughing groups, a fertility ritual seems more likely.

9. HUMAN FIGURE WITH HEAD REVERSED. Pl. IIc. British Museum 1951.3-29.1. Purnell, Haig, and Craufurd colls. H. 7.3 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Medium green patina. Right hand missing. Sotheby's *Cat.* 8 May, 1872, lot 199; *ibid.* 18 Jan., 1951, lot 191.

Walking with right leg forward, the arms raised in front of the body. The head is completely reversed in relation to the trunk and limbs. The figure, which is naked, appears to be female, though the breasts are not marked. The hair is treated like that of the female combatants, no. 8.

Neugebauer has collected figures in which various parts of the body are reversed in relation to one another.<sup>10</sup> To his list we may add two statuettes in Syracuse, one (from Sicilian Naxos) in bronze, the other in lead. The bronze statuette is close in style to Berlin 163. The lead statuette bears a Greek magical inscription which seems to confirm Ippel's view, quoted by Neugebauer, that these reversals have a magical significance.<sup>11</sup>

Next, five mythological figures.

10. CENTAUR. Pl. IIId. British Museum 75.3-13.12. Borrell and Purnell colls. H. 7 cm. L. 7.7 cm. Medium green patina. Sotheby's *Cat.* 26 Aug., 1852; *ibid.* 9 May, 1872, lot 200.

Standing with left rear leg advanced. The centaur is composed of an entire human figure joined at the buttocks to an equine belly and hindquarters. This type, according to Baur,<sup>12</sup> is not older than the type with horse's forelegs, but it seems to have been preferred in the earlier archaic period. The human figure turns half left. The head is bearded. Hair is not indicated on the crown, but it falls behind the neck in a plastically modelled mass.

11. MERMAN. Pl. IIe. British Museum 52.9-1.11. Acquired in 1852 from the Borrell coll. L. 13.3 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Medium green patina. The right arm bent downwards from the elbow and the right hand split along the line of a casting fault which extends to the shoulder. Tail missing. Walters, *op. cit.* 67, no. 485; Shepard, *Fish-tailed Monster* 31.
12. MERMAN. Breslau, Archäologisches Museum. Acquired in 1861 from the collection of Eduard Gustav Schaubert.<sup>13</sup> L. 13.8 cm. Cast solid in one piece.

Rosbach, *Griechische Antiken des archäologischen Museums in Breslau* 40 ff., pl. II, 2.

These two bronzes are closely similar. The gesture is intended for swimming.<sup>14</sup> Beneath the belly the Breslau merman has two fins side-by-side, the London merman only one. The heads are more elaborately finished than those of the other bronzes. As well as having impressed circles for pupils the eyes are outlined by oval furrows. Both mermen have beards marked by wavy lines and wide, drooping moustaches. Both have a fringe of hair over the forehead, brushed straight forward

<sup>8</sup> Bossert, *Altsyrien* no. 472.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Usener, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* VII, 297 ff. = *Kl. Schriften* IV, 437 ff.; Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* 402 ff., 413 ff.; Farnell, *Cults* III, 93 f., V, 194.

<sup>10</sup> Berlin, *Bronzen* I, 66 f., no. 163. The bronze statuette from Cephalonia in the British Museum (*BMC Bronzes* no. 216) is more complicated than Neugebauer suggests. If we take the feet as giving the forward direction, the legs from the knees upwards and the body to the top of the stomach are reversed; the chest faces forward; the left arm is reversed;

and the head is turned 90° to the right. The head is not bearded, as stated in *BMC Bronzes*.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Giglioli, *St. Etr.* III, 529 ff. The inscription on the lead statuette in Syracuse will, I understand, be published by Professor G. Pugliese Carratelli.

<sup>12</sup> *Centaurus* 135.

<sup>13</sup> Architect to King Otto of Greece. He accompanied Ludwig Ross on his travels to the Aegean Islands and the coast of Asia Minor, returning to Germany about 1844.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* 77 f. and fig. 22a.



on the Breslau merman, parted in the middle on the other. On both the hair falls low behind the neck.

13. SPHINX. Pl. IIIb. British Museum 75-3-13.13. Borrell and Purnell colls. L. 6.9 cm. H. 5.2 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Medium green patina.  
Sotheby's Cat. 26 Aug., 1852, lot 1499; *ibid.* 9 May, 1872, lot 200; Walters, *op. cit.* 22, no. 228.

Standing with forelegs pushed forward, looking to the left. The feathers are marked on the left wing and on the left side of the breast only. The front edge of the hair is indicated by a ridge. The back of the head is too rough to say certainly what is intended there; probably low-falling hair.

14. SIREN. Pl. IIIc. British Museum 75-3-13.14. Borrell and Purnell colls. H. 5.2 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Medium green patina.  
Sotheby's Cat. 26 Aug., 1852, lot 1532; *ibid.* 9 May, 1872, lot 200; Walters, *op. cit.* 22, no. 229; Weicker, *Seelenvogel* 103.

Standing with her thick, spatulate tail touching the ground, her head half left. The wings are folded on the back, but do not cross. The wing quills are marked by parallel lines, the breast feathers by small curves. The hair is parted in the middle and swept back from above the roughly modelled ears to fall in a thick mass on the back. A few incisions above the brow indicate separate strands.

The remaining bronzes all represent animals.

15. DEER. Pl. IIIa. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 04.15. McClean bequest. L. 9 cm. H. 4.5 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Medium green patina.

Grazing. The antlers have only two tines below the flattened palm. This suggests the fallow deer, though ancient representations of this animal usually show the spots of its summer coat.

16. STOAT. Pl. IIId. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 04.11. McClean bequest. L. 9.5 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Medium green patina.

Standing with its head turned slightly to the left.

The long tail suggests a stoat rather than a weasel. Though popular among the Greeks and Romans as pets and mouse-catchers, the stoat and weasel are rare in ancient art.<sup>15</sup>

17. SHE-GOAT. Pl. IIIe. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 04.9. McClean bequest. L. 6 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Medium green patina.

Standing with head turned half left.

18. SHEEP. Pl. IIIf. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 04.10. McClean bequest. L. 6 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Medium green patina.

Standing with head turned half left.

19. BULL. Pl. IVb. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 32.6. Duncan bequest. H. 5 cm. L. 8.7 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Dark green patina.

Standing with head turned half left. Two curved incisions over each eye.

20. DOG. Pl. IVc. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 04.13. McClean bequest. L. 7.2 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Medium green patina.

Walking with head turned half left.

For the type of dog with arching tail and square muzzle compare the lion-hunting hounds on a Hittite relief from Alaca Höyük.<sup>16</sup>

21. LION. Pl. IVd. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 04.12. McClean bequest. L. 7.1 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Medium green patina.

Walking with head turned half left. The tail curls forward over the right haunch. A small striated ruff round the neck.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Keller, *Antike Tierwelt* I, 168 ff. Not all Keller's examples bear inspection. Of the animals he illustrates from the Tomba del Triclinio one (Keller's fig. 59; wrongly said to be from Caere) is certainly a leopard or panther (see Prentice Duell, *Tomba del Triclinio* 17, pl. I). Another (Keller's fig. 58, the animal climbing the tree), of which only the tail survives, appears from old copies of the painting to be a leopard cub (see Prentice Duell, *op. cit.* 29, pl. II). The third (Keller's fig. 58, the animal on the ground on the extreme right), now headless, looks like a fox (see Prentice Duell, *op. cit.* 30, pl. II). The animals on the Sabouroff pyxis must be cats and mice as Furtwängler originally suggested (*Collection Sabouroff* I, pl. LXV). On the Etruscan candelabrum cited by Keller (*Reinach, Rép. Stat.* II 140) the animal is probably a leopard or fox as on other Etruscan candelabra (cf. *BMC Bronzes* 772,

777-781; Ridder, *Bronzes antiques du Louvre* II 3175). On the coin of Segesta it must be a hound. The animal on the Berlin mirror (*Arch. Zeit.* 1879 p. 100), not engraved on it, as Keller says, but cast in the round and attached to the rim, has the pointed ears, short body, and large haunches of a fox. On the other hand Keller does not notice a creature on the east wall of the Tomba del Triclinio which may well be a weasel as Prentice Duell suggests (*op. cit.* 27, pl. II). The animal, whose head and tail only are preserved, appears to be jumping up into the tree on the left of the plate. Another animal with a long, low body is climbing the tree in the centre of the west wall (Pl. III). This looks to me like another stoat or weasel, but Prentice Duell takes it to be a leopard cub.

<sup>16</sup> Bossert, *Altanatolien* 117, fig. 520.



22. PANTHER. Pl. IVa. British Museum 1951.3-29.2. Purnell, Haig, and Craufurd colls. Inscribed on the back in black paint 'Roman toys. Purnell coll.' H. 5.1 cm. L. 8.6 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Medium green patina.

Sotheby's Cat. 8 May, 1872, lot 198; *ibid.* 18 Jan., 1951, lot 191.

Walking with head turned left. The eyebrows are formed by three lines forming an arrow-head pointing upwards.

23. HORSE. Pl. IVf. Athens, British School. Finlay coll.; said to have been found at Tchesmé. H. 5.1 cm. L. 7.2 cm. Cast solid in one piece. The bronze has been cleaned and is now dark brown.

MS Cat. Finlay coll. 241, bronze no. 11.

Standing with head turned half left. The forelock, the strands of which are marked by incised lines, falls in a broad, thick fringe down to the eyes.

24. MOUSE. Pl. Vb. British Museum 1951.3-29.4. Purnell, Haig, and Craufurd colls. L. 8 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Medium green patina.

Sotheby's Cat. 9 May, 1872, lot 198; *ibid.* 18 Jan., 1951, lot 191.

25. MOUSE. Pl. IVe. Athens, British School. Finlay coll.; said to have been found at Tchesmé. L. 7.8 cm. Cast solid in one piece. The bronze has been cleaned and is now dark brown.

MS Cat. Finlay coll. 241, bronze no. 12.

26. MOUSE. Pl. Va. British Museum 1951.3-29.3. Purnell, Haig, and Craufurd colls. L. 4.5 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Medium green patina.

Sotheby's Cat. 9 May, 1872, lot 198; *ibid.* 18 Jan., 1951, lot 191.

All three mice crouch with head on forepaws. Nos. 24 and 25 have long, curling tails and are probably intended for the common long-tailed field mouse. The shorter tail of no. 26 suggests the short-tailed vole.

27. BIRD. Pl. Vf. British Museum 1951.3-29.6. Purnell, Haig, and Craufurd colls. L. 6.7 cm. Cast solid. Medium green patina. The beak is formed from a separate piece of bronze which seems (so far as one can say without taking it off) to be pegged and soft-soldered in position. The join looks ancient: the surface is patinated where it has been filed away to fit.

Sotheby's Cat. 9 May, 1872, lot 199; *ibid.* 18 Jan., 1951, lot 191.

Sitting with wings folded, the head turned slightly to the left. Wing feathers and wing and tail quills marked by incised lines.

28. BIRD. Pl. Vc. British Museum 1951.3-29.5. Purnell, Haig, and Craufurd colls. L. 5.9 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Medium green patina.

Sotheby's Cat. 9 May, 1872, lot 199; *ibid.* 18 Jan., 1951, lot 191.

Sitting with wings folded, the head turned slightly left. Feathers marked on the back of the neck, feathers and quills on the wings.

29. DOLPHIN. Pl. Vd. British Museum 1951.3-29.8. Purnell, Haig, and Craufurd colls. L. 6.5 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Medium green patina.

Sotheby's Cat. 8 May, 1872, lot 199; *ibid.* 18 Jan., 1951, lot 191.

Three curved incisions on each side of the head.

30. FISH. Pl. Vh. British Museum W. 148. Witt coll. L. 5.2 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Medium green patina.

31. FISH. Pl. Vg. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 04.14. McClean bequest. L. 5.25 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Medium green patina.

32. FISH. Pl. Ve. Athens, British School. Finlay coll.; said to have been found at Tchesmé. L. 4.9 cm. Cast solid in one piece. The bronze has been cleaned and is now dark brown.

MS Cat. Finlay coll. 241, bronze no. 14.

The three fish closely resemble one another: each has two large lateral fins set vertically and a horizontal tail fin. The lateral and tail fins of no. 30 and the tail fin of no. 32 are marked with striations. On these two bronzes, but not on the Cambridge one, nostrils are shown. Miss Trewavas of the British Museum (Natural History) has kindly sent me the following note: 'I should think the artist must have had a fish in mind in spite of the fact that the tail-fin is horizontal as in a dolphin (or a bird) instead of vertical. The big "wings" or "pectoral fins" suggest a flying fish, and the shape of the head suggests, not *Exocoetus*, but the flying gurnard, *Dactylopterus volitans*.'

For the Greek names of flying fish see D'Arcy Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Fishes*, s.v. ἰέραξ, κόκκυξ, χελιδών.

33. SNAKE. Pl. Vi. British Museum, 1951.3-29.7. Borrell, Purnell, Haig, and Craufurd colls. L. 11.5 cm. Cast solid in one piece. Medium green patina.

Sotheby's Cat. 26 Aug., 1852, lot 1532; *ibid.* 8 May, 1872, lot 199; *ibid.* 18 Jan., 1951, lot 191.

The mouth is marked by a notch across the front of the face and a slit under each eye. Three parallel incised lines run along the nose to the back of the head, where the middle line forks into two, one arm, accompanied by one of the outside lines, curving down each side of the throat.

\* \* \* \* \*

It is not possible to date, except within wide limits, work which clearly stands apart from the main current of Greek art. There can be little doubt, I think, that the bronzes are all contemporary,



the products of one workshop at one time. At first sight the more elaborate treatment of their heads might suggest that the merman is later than some of the more roughly finished pieces; but a comparison of the profile head of the British Museum merman (no. 11, fig. 1) with the same view of the centaur (no. 10, fig. 2)—a particularly 'primitive' looking piece—shows that the difference is only superficial. The primitive character of the bronzes is likely to be due to provincialism rather than earliness; even, it may be, to the presence of an un-Greek element. If sometimes they recall early clay figures and bronzes of Furtwängler's 'Terrakottastil',<sup>17</sup> this will be because the same forms tend to recur whenever and wherever a soft material is moulded in the fingers.



FIG. 1.—DETAIL OF NO. 11.



FIG. 2.—DETAIL OF NO. 10.

A safer, though still very general, indication of date is given by some of the mythological creatures represented. The merman does not appear in Greek art until the seventh century, and is not common before the sixth;<sup>18</sup> the nearest parallel to our examples, a merman on a Corinthian plaque in Berlin, dates from the first quarter of the sixth century.<sup>19</sup> The armless siren with folded wings, a type derived from Egypt, also points to the later seventh or sixth century;<sup>20</sup> and so does the sphinx with sickle-shaped wings.<sup>21</sup> These indications, slight though they are, suggest that our bronzes are not likely to be earlier than the sixth century.

\* \* \* \* \*

The evidence for the provenance of the bronzes has been confused by a dealer's conjecture or invention which has been accepted as an established fact. One of the ploughing groups, the combat of two men, the centaur, the sphinx, and the siren (nos. 2, 7, 10, 13 and 14) were said by the dealer who sold them to the British Museum in 1875, to have been found in Cyprus: Cypriote antiquities were then much in vogue. A Cypriote provenance was accordingly ascribed to these bronzes in Walter's catalogue; and hence to the Cambridge and Copenhagen ploughing groups. No one, it appears, noticed at the time of the purchase that three years earlier the same five bronzes had been sold at Sotheby's as part of the Purnell collection. Their identification is certain. Lot 200 at the Purnell sale (see Appendix C) comprised 'a centaur, a sphinx, a harpy and a group of two gladiators'; lot 627 included 'a man driving two oxen, attached by the horns to the beam of a plough,<sup>22</sup> guiding it with his left hand'; both lots went to the dealer from whom the British Museum made its purchases in 1875. In the sale catalogue they are described simply as 'Roman toys'; there is no mention of Cyprus.

With Cyprus out of the way the remaining evidence points all in one direction. According to George Finlay's MS. catalogue of his collection (Appendix A) nos. 6, 23, 25, and 32 of our list were found at Tchesmé (Çeşme), a town on the Turkish coast about fifty miles west of Smyrna. Finlay's evidence is certainly sufficient in itself; but it is corroborated by the fact that several of the other bronzes can, as Appendix B shows, be traced back to the Borrell collection. The bulk of this collection, particularly of the less important pieces, is likely to come from the neighbourhood of Smyrna, where Borrell had lived for thirty-three years when he died in 1851.

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>17</sup> E.g. clay figures: *Artemis Orthia* 155 f., pl. XL, XLI; *Olympia* IV, pl. XVII. Bronze figures: *Olympia* IV, pl. X, XI, XVI. Farrell's remarks on clay technique, quoted by Dawkins, *Artemis Orthia* 155, are relevant.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* 77 f.; Shepard, *Fish-tailed Monster* 10.

<sup>19</sup> *AD* I, pl. VII, no. 11.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Weicker in Roscher's *Lexikon* IV, 621 f.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Ilberg in Roscher's *Lexikon* IV, 1358 f.

<sup>22</sup> The failure to note that one of the oxen is reversed is probably to be accounted for by the fact that this is the ploughing group (no. 2) from which both oxen had become detached.



Finlay says nothing of the circumstances in which the bronzes were discovered. It is unlikely that he knew anything. The story of the finding of the Chatsworth Apollo shows how little the attitude of the Turkish authorities of that time encouraged precise reporting of provenances.<sup>23</sup> The number of the bronzes and the repetition of subjects tell against a grave-find. Other possibilities are a foundry-site or a votive deposit. We know little of the practices of ancient foundries, but it seems improbable that they would have carried any large stock of finished bronzes; they are more likely to have worked to order. In any case our bronzes will be votive objects dedicated, or made for dedication, in some local sanctuary. Can we say whose? Not, I think, with any certainty; but the fertility ritual to which the ploughing and combat groups testify, the wide variety of animals represented, and the presence of real and mythological sea-creatures would all be appropriate to a sanctuary of Cybele, whose cult was already well-established among the Greeks of Lydia by the sixth century.<sup>24</sup> And if the sanctuary were Cybele's, might not Finlay's 'man and woman in cart' (Appendix A, no. 9) and Borrell's 'chariot with two seated figures' (Appendix B, lot 1541) prove to be the Great Mother and her consort in their car? <sup>25</sup> One hopes that they will come to light again.

D. E. L. HAYNES

## APPENDIX A

Extract from George Finlay's MS. 'Numismatic Catalogue' dated 1864 (Finlay Library, British School at Athens, R.9.33), p. 241

\* \* \* \*

## BRONZES

(1-6 are Egyptian bronzes)

Some rude figures found at Tchesmé

7. Man ploughing one ox yoked backward

8. Two women at gymnastics

9. Man and woman in cart

10. Serpent

11. Horse

12. Mouse

13. Lizard

14. Fish

## Remarks

= no. 6, p. 74 above.

Lost. It perhaps resembled no. 8, p. 75 above.

Lost. Cf. this page above and Appendix C, lot 628.

Lost.

= no. 23, p. 77 above.

= no. 25, p. 77 above.

Lost.

= no. 32, p. 77 above.

## APPENDIX B

Extract from Sale Catalogue of Collection of H. P.  
Borrell of Smyrna (Sotheby's, 26 Aug. 1852)

\* \* \* \*

CURIOUS VOTIVE OFFERINGS IN BRONZE, AND  
OTHER OBJECTS

## Lot

1532 A Chimaera, representing the figure of a bird  
with human head, the feathers and wings  
delineated by rude lines, and two Serpents,  
*engraved and finely patinated* 3

1533 Two rude figures in the act of wrestling, and  
grotesque figures terminating with the body of  
a fish, *finely patinated* 2

[1534 Cobra in coil

1535 A Fish, Rat, Ferret, and other animals (?)

## Remarks

Lot bought by Purnell.

The 'Chimaera' = the 'harpy', Purnell sale, lot 200 = no. 14, p. 76 above.

The 'two serpents' = the '2 serpents', Purnell sale, lot 199. One of them = no. 33, p. 77 above.

Lot bought on behalf of British Museum.

The 'two rude figures' = no. 8, p. 75 above.

The 'grotesque figure' ('figures', as the lot total shows, is a misprint) = no. 11, p. 75 above.

= BMC *Bronzes* no. 1907; it does not belong to our group]. Lot bought by Chaffers.

The 'Ferret' perhaps = no. 16, p. 76 above. If so, probably all the McClean bequest bronzes in Cambridge go back to Borrell via Chaffers. Cf. lots 1537, 1538 and 1540 below.

<sup>23</sup> See Gjerstad, *Eranos* XLIII.<sup>24</sup> For Cybele see Rapp in Roscher's *Lexikon* II. I. 1638 ff.; Schwenn in *RE* XXII Halbband 2250 ff. For the association of Cybele with animals of many kinds, cf. the Conservatori mosaic from the Basilica Hilariana (*Cat. Conservatori* 277, Gall. Sup. I, no. 20, pl. 110) on which a crow or raven, a snake, a stag, a lioness, a bull, a scorpion, a bear, a goat, and a dove are grouped apotropically round an evil eye. Another deposit of bronze animals found near Rome is published by Giglioli (*Bull. Comm. Arch. Com. Rom.* LVI, 5 ff.), who connects them with an oriental cult.

For the spread of the cult of Cybele among the Greek cities

of Lydia see Schwenn, *op. cit.* 2252 f., 2287. It is recorded at Smyrna, Phocaea, Cyme, Clazomenae, Erythrae, and Chios, to name only cities in the neighbourhood of Tchesmé.<sup>25</sup> I should, however, point out that Borrell's 'chariot with two seated figures' must almost certainly be Purnell's 'two men seated in a car, drawn by two oxen attached by the horns to the shaft' (Appendix C, lot 628).During the Hilaria at Rome (25 March) Cybele\* and Attis rode together in a car drawn by lions; heifers drew the *plaustrum* in which the goddess alone was taken to the Lavatio (27 March). See Graillot, *Culte de Cybèle* 131 ff., 139 f.



CURIOUS VOTIVE OFFERINGS IN BRONZE, AND  
OTHER OBJECTS

## Remarks

Lot			
1536	A Monkey, Lizard, Zebra, etc.	6	Lot bought by Purnell. Cf. Appendix C.
1537	A Lion, Fish, Mouse, etc.	6	Lot bought by Chaffers.
1538	A Dog, Fish, Human Figure with head reversed, etc.	7	Lot bought by Chaffers.
			If, as seems probable, the 'human figure with head reversed' = no. 9, p. 75 above, Chaffers must subsequently have sold it to Purnell.
1539	A Frog, a Lizard, Panther, etc.	6	Lot bought by Gale, whom I have not traced.
1540	A Mule, Dog, Elk, and other animals	8	Lot bought by Chaffers.
			The 'Elk' perhaps = no. 15, p. 76 above; its large antlers would explain the misnomer.
			Cf. the remarks on lot 1535 above.
1541	A Centaur, Figures wrestling, Chariot with two seated figures, etc.	6	Lot bought by Purnell.
			The 'Centaur' = the 'centaur', Purnell sale, lot 200 = no. 10, p. 75 above.
			'Figures wrestling' = 'two gladiators', Purnell sale, lot 200 = no. 7, p. 75 above.
			The 'Chariot with two seated figures' presumably = 'car drawn by two oxen', Purnell sale, lot 628.
1542	Lion, Goose, Mouse, Bird, Lizard, etc., engraved and patinated	6	Lot bought by Purnell.
1543	Rude Figure ploughing, the oxen drawing in different directions, very singular and curious	2	Lot bought on behalf of the British Museum = no. 1, p. 74 above.
			The lot total '2' is a misprint.

## APPENDIX C

*Extract from Sale Catalogue of Collection of Purnell B.  
Purnell of Stancombe Park, Gloucestershire (Sotheby's, 8 May 1872)*

\* \* \* \*

## SECOND DAY'S SALE

Antique Bronze Implements (*continued*)

## Remarks

Lot			
197	Very curious Roman bronze Toys of Animals—a tiger, fox, goat, stag, dog and ram	6	Lot bought by Lincoln, whom I have not traced.
198	Roman bronze Toys of Animals—leopard, monkey, hare, rat, mouse, squirrel, frog and dog	8	Lots 198 and 199 bought by James Richard Haig of Blairhill, Rumbling Bridge. Eight of the seventeen bronzes have recently been acquired by the British Museum from the collection of Mrs. E. A. Craufurd to whom I am indebted for information about them. They are nos. 9, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 33, and account for the leopard, rat, mouse, two of the three birds, one of the two fishes, and the man. Still at large are the monkey, hare, squirrel, frog, dog, one bird, two fishes, the lizard, and one serpent.
199	Roman bronze Toys—3 birds, 2 fishes, lizard, 2 serpents, and a man	9	
200	Roman bronze Toys—a centaur, a sphinx, a harpy, and a group of two gladiators, very curious	4	For lots 200 and 627 see p. 78 above.
			The 'centaur' = no. 10, p. 75 above.
			The 'sphinx' = no. 13, p. 76 above.
			The 'harpy' = no. 14, p. 76 above.
			The 'group of two gladiators' = no. 7, p. 75 above.

\* \* \* \*

## FOURTH DAY'S SALE

627	Curious Roman Toy, representing a man driving two oxen, attached by the horns to the beam of a plough, guiding it with his left hand; and a two-wheeled Racing Chariot, rare.		The 'man driving two oxen' = no. 2, p. 74 above.
628	Roman Toys—two men seated in a car, drawn by two oxen attached by the horns to the shaft, and a Horse, rare.		Lot bought by Schmidt, whom I have not traced.



# NOTES ON ALEXANDER'S CAMPAIGNS, 332-330

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## INTRODUCTION

THE following five notes deal with some neglected or controversial points concerning Alexander's operations in the two decisive years January, 332, to January, 330. Though independent of each other, they have a certain external unity, since all concern the crucial 'third act' of Alexander's career. Early in 332, the Persians, in spite of Issos, still hoped to recover Asia Minor, raise trouble in Greece, and transfer the seat of war back to the Aegean. Two years later, after Alexander's dash to Persepolis, Darius was no longer King of Persia; he was left indeed with virtually no forces except his Greek mercenaries and the troops of the Bactrian barons, who had ideas of their own.

I have found myself at certain points in disagreement with the views of Sir William Tarn. Tarn has indeed left little to be said about Alexander, except where one disagrees; and I would not wish to end this prefatory note without an expression of admiration for his great work.

### 1. THE PERSIAN COUNTER-OFFENSIVE, 333-2

No extant writer except Curtius (IV. 1. 34-40) mentions the Persian counter-offensive in Asia Minor early in 332, while Alexander was held up at Tyre. Arrian says nothing of it, and almost all moderns have followed him. Grote, for example, devotes half a page (XII<sup>1</sup>, p. 206) to the expression of pained surprise that Darius did 'nothing' to relieve the pressure on Tyre or to save his fleet from collapse, 'especially during the first half' of the period between Issos and Gaugamela. Actually, the Persian commanders did all they could; though it is true that we cannot say how much of the credit for a bold effort or blame for its failure attaches to Darius.

It was reserved for Tarn (*Alexander the Great*, II, p. 110) to point out why Arrian omits the episode: namely, that the hero of the Macedonian defence was Antigonos, and that Ptolemy, who was to Arrian what Arrian rightly is to modern writers, was not going to record the *aristeia* of one who later became his greatest enemy. Of other sources, Plutarch, the most popular, was, as he repeatedly reminds us, writing not history but biography; while Diodoros was necessarily abridging his narrative to proportions suitable for a *Universal History*. Diodoros, however, does show, if one reads him with Curtius in mind, that his source at this point gave a similar account of action taken by the Persian forces that escaped from Issos. It was in fact, as may be seen by comparing the two accounts (Diod. XVII. 48. 6, Curt. *loc. cit.*), almost certainly the same source.

As to what that action was, I do not think that even Tarn has completely done justice to it. Hence the present note.

It will probably save space in the long run to quote in full Curtius' narrative and comments on these events. After describing the adventures of the exile Amyntas, who tried (anticipating Ptolemy) to secure Egypt on his own account, and was killed there, he continues thus:

34. Darii praetores, qui proelio apud Isson superfuerant, cum omni manu quae fugientes secuta erat, assumpta etiam Cappadocum et Paphlagonum iuventute, Lydiam recuperare tentabant. 35. Antigonos praetor Alexandri Lydiae praecerat; qui, quamquam plerosque militum ex praesidiis ad regem dimiserat, tamen, barbaris spretis, in aciem suos eduxit. Eadem illic quoque fortuna partium fuit; tribus proeliis alia atque alia regione commissis, Persae funduntur. 36. Eodem tempore classis Macedonum ex Graecia accita Aristomenem,<sup>1</sup> qui ad Hellesponti oram recuperandam a Dario erat missus, captis eius aut mersis navibus superat. 37. A Milesiis deinde<sup>2</sup> Pharnabazus praefectus Persicae classis pecunia exacta, et praesidio in urbem Chium introducto, centum navibus Andrum et inde Siphnum petit, easque insulas praesidiis occupat, pecunia mulctat.

<sup>1</sup> Probably a blunder of a copyist, or of Curtius himself, for Autophradates, whose name never occurs in Curtius; cf. Arrian, II. 1, 2 and 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Deinde* here is a mistake of Curtius'; or Ph. was already at Siphnos when the news of Issos arrived (Arr. II. 13). Ph's

operations here described are therefore *simultaneous* with the land operations described previously. Curtius has confused, probably, what came next in his source with what came next in time.



38. *Magnitudo belli*, quod ab opulentissimis Europae Asiaeque regibus, in spem totius orbis occupandi, gerebatur, Graeciae quoque et Cretae arma commoverat. 39. Agis, Lacedaemoniorum rex, octo milibus Graecorum, qui ex Cilicia<sup>3</sup> profugi domos repetierant, contractis, bellum Antipatro, Macedoniae praefecto, moliebatur. 40. Cretenses, has aut illas partes secuti, nunc Spartanorum, nunc Macedonum praesidiis occupabantur. Sed leviora inter illos fuere discrimina, unum certamen, ex quo cetera pendebant, intuite fortuna.

Curtius' judgments on these operations (38, 40) are as sound as his information is interesting. Few modern readers, thanks to the omissions of Arrian and Plutarch, are aware that anything happened in Alexander's invasion of Asia, except for Alexander's personal doings. Curtius alone here, gives the true picture of the *magnitudo belli*, spreading now over all parts of the Near East. Fortresses changed hands in Crete, cities and islands in Ionia and the Cyclades, fleets clashed in the Aegean, and one of the greatest of all the Macedonian captains—third, with Antipatros and Parmenion, of the great men 'found' by Philip—made his reputation on the battlefields of Asia Minor. But (in the judgment of Alexander as well as of Curtius) the *Schwerpunkt* of the whole war was still in Phoenicia, where Alexander himself, bulldog-like, had his teeth into the throat of the enemy's sea-power.

Now what part did the Persian offensive in Asia Minor play in all this? Curtius (34-5) says that it aimed at the recovery of Lydia. Tarn (*op. cit.* I, p. 29, II, 110 and n. 3, 177 and n.) says that 'Lydia' here is a mere slip on Curtius' part, for Phrygia (which was, of course, Antigonos' satrapy when we next hear anything of him; D.S. XVIII. 3. 1), and that Curtius did not know what the Persians were aiming at. In his opinion they were really trying to cut Alexander's communications at the 'bottle-neck' between Cappadocia and the Taurus.

This is surely a little cavalier. It was not what our only source says; and Alexander's army was not, like a large modern force, to be paralysed in a few weeks for lack of food and motor-fuel. No, Curtius, who, as Tarn has shown (*loc. cit.*, cf. II, 72-4), was here using the good 'Mercenaries' Source', is probably perfectly right.<sup>4</sup>

The Persian project was to break through to the Aegean, which meant recovering Lydia by an advance from the east, parallel to the axes of the mountain ranges, a route familiar to Persian armies since the days of Cyrus the Great; to regain contact with the fleet and with Sparta; and to cut off Alexander from Greece not merely by the breadth of Cilicia but by that of the whole of Asia Minor. Curtius may have made the mistake of thinking that Lydia was Antigonos' satrapy; but it was part of the great 'line of communications area' for which, as Tarn has shown (II, 177), he was probably responsible.

Darius' plan since before Issos (cf. D.S. XVII. 30. 1, like that of Memnon, in 334, *ib.* 18. 3—also from the 'mercenaries' source?) had been to carry the war into Europe, μεταθήσθαι τὸν πάντα πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, which some editors have needlessly proposed to emend. Even Arrian-Ptolemy has, in fact, an allusion to this as the Persian objective in Alexander's speech before Tyre, II. 17. It may sound surprising, after the event; but it was simply the traditional Persian strategy, using Phoenician sea-power, Greek allies, and liberal subsidies in gold, which had been employed against Agesilaos in the early fourth century and against Athens in the fifth. So far, Darius had been able to keep in touch with the Aegean by sea through Phoenicia, sending and receiving messages, sending money and even receiving troops; but now that Alexander controlled Syria and was besieging Tyre, there was urgent need to re-open communication by another way. If Lydia, which was the hinterland of Ionia, and the western section of the Royal Road could be cleared, then troops and gold could once more freely reach the Aegean, and there was hope of rekindling the flame of resistance in Greece itself.

It is remarkable how, in the light of Curtius' text, the details about the war in the Aegean, which we have from Arrian and elsewhere, fall into place and make sense. The proceedings of Agis and Pharnabazos in this winter of 333-2, considered apart from the land operations, look desultory and futile; which, in a son of Artabazos and in a King of Sparta, is, one may fairly say, absurd. The capture of Mytilene, early in 333, besieged already by Memnon before he fell sick, makes obvious sense, as does that of Tenedos; together they were a base threatening the Dardanelles. The capture of Chios, again (summer 333), helped to ease the movements of the Persian fleet and to impede the

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* from Issos, cf. Arr. II. 13, D.S. XVII. 48. 1 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Mention of the Mercenaries' Source, so admirably described by Tarn, prompts the question why so good and unsensational a source was not used by Arrian, and is not named, at least in a manner enabling us to identify the writer, among the numerous authors mentioned by Plutarch. It might be because the writer had little to say about Alexander personally; but surely the soldier Arrian would have been interested in what the Mercenary had to say about the campaigns. (Compare his detailed account of Pharnouches' and Andromachos' disaster, where Alexander was not concerned, IV. 5, 6.) I

would suggest therefore that the Mercenaries' Source as represented by Curtius and Diodoros derives not from the published *Anabasis* of some pro-Persian Xenophon, but from the *oral* reminiscences of one or more Greek mercenaries, used as a source by a good Greek historian. If this material thus first appeared in a general history along with less good material, marked by that prejudice against Alexander, against which Arrian revolted, that would account for Arrian's rejection of it together with the rest of the professional historians' books, in favour of the 'original sources', the eye-witnesses who wrote themselves.



communications of Alexander's friends, between Greece and Asia Minor. But why, after receiving the news of Issos at their conference at Siphnos (Arr. II. 13) should Agis send his brother with the Spartan navy to Crete, and himself 'tarry among the islands' (*ib.*); why should Pharnabazos from Chios raid Miletos (Curt. IV. 1. 37) and Autophradates, Halikarnassos, where the King of Sparta presently joins him (Arrian, *ib.*)? Is all this simply a desultory warfare of pinpricks, as in the palmy days of the city-states?

Taking all the evidence together, one can see that it was not. All the Persian and allied operations in the winter after Issos fall into place together as parts of a grand strategy, aiming not only at cutting Alexander's communications but at drawing him off from Asia by threatening Macedonia. The raid on Miletos (which also produced badly-needed money) and the re-occupation of Halikarnassos must surely have been meant at least to assist by a diversion the Persian drive through Asia Minor; at best, to secure a port and base for the Persian columns if they got through to the sea. The operations in Crete and the Cyclades impeded any attempt of Alexander's to communicate by sea, even by fast dispatch-carrying galleys, by depriving him of ports (one has to remember the very short cruising radius of ancient warships<sup>5</sup>); as well as interfering with the recruitment and perhaps the loyalty of one of his two indispensable archer battalions. Surely in this way Alexander, like Agesilaos, could be compelled to march home with his main army?

It is difficult to see what better strategy could be adopted, once Issos had shown that—unless on the broad plains of the interior—Alexander's main army could not be defeated in battle. It was a fine piece of planning, and a gallant adventure by the Persians who tried to carry it out; and it must have looked, about midwinter, as though it were succeeding. The 8,000 Greek mercenaries whom Darius had withdrawn from the Aegean to fight at Issos were on their way back, though some at least of them became involved in Amyntas' Egyptian adventure (Arrian, II. 13); and the Persians and their allies in the Aegean had, even without them, carried out their part. By the end of 333, they had captured or recaptured Mytilene, Tenedos, Chios, Siphnos and other Cyclades, a great part of Crete, Kos, Miletos, and Halikarnassos. To us who know that Alexander, in the next twelve months, was going to win Tyre, Egypt, Babylon, Susa, Persepolis and Pasargadai, their achievements may look small; but they would form a not inadequate content for a book of Thucydides or Xenophon. The south Aegean had been made, if not impassable, at least dangerous, even for fast enemy galleys. One would dearly like to know something of the adventures of the solitary Macedonian fifty-oar which got through, presumably with dispatches, to join Alexander before Tyre in the spring.

The chief thing that we do *not* know about these proceedings is why nothing that leaves a mark in history happened on the Greek mainland; but Agis evidently reckoned that nothing could be done without help from outside, and, pending the return of the Eight Thousand, Pharnabazos had no land forces to give him. Sparta's usual enemies—Argos, Messene, Megalopolis—were staunch for Macedonia. On the other hand, Antipatros from Macedonia dared not march south, leaving the home country weakly garrisoned, while the enemy were supreme at sea. Athens, for which Alexander had hostages in the crews of the twenty Athenian ships which he kept with him (Diod. XVII. 22. 5) made no move; and Rhodes remained neutral. There must have been intense underground activity: coming and going of secret agents, persuasion, bribery, propaganda; but nothing overt came of it. Alexander's friends, the prestige of his victories, and his proclamation of democracy in Ionia when he liberated it, held the position for him long enough. As Tarn says (I, p. 19) he had shown fine judgment.

Meanwhile the Persian army, reorganized after Issos, reoccupied Cappadocia, through which Alexander had marched in the spring (Arr. II. 4) and called to arms with some success (as Curtius tells us) the young men of that province and of the formidable and warlike Paphlagonians, whose chieftains had made an act of submission to Alexander at the same time (Arr. *ib.*). The Anatolian winter had no terrors for the Persians. Was it not by a campaign out of season that Cyrus had overthrown Croesus, 200 years before? But it was not Croesus that they had to face now. By hard fighting, Antigonos the One-Eyed kept them out of Lydia, in those 'three battles in different regions' about which one would so much like to know more; and at Halikarnassos, Agis and Autophradates waited in vain.

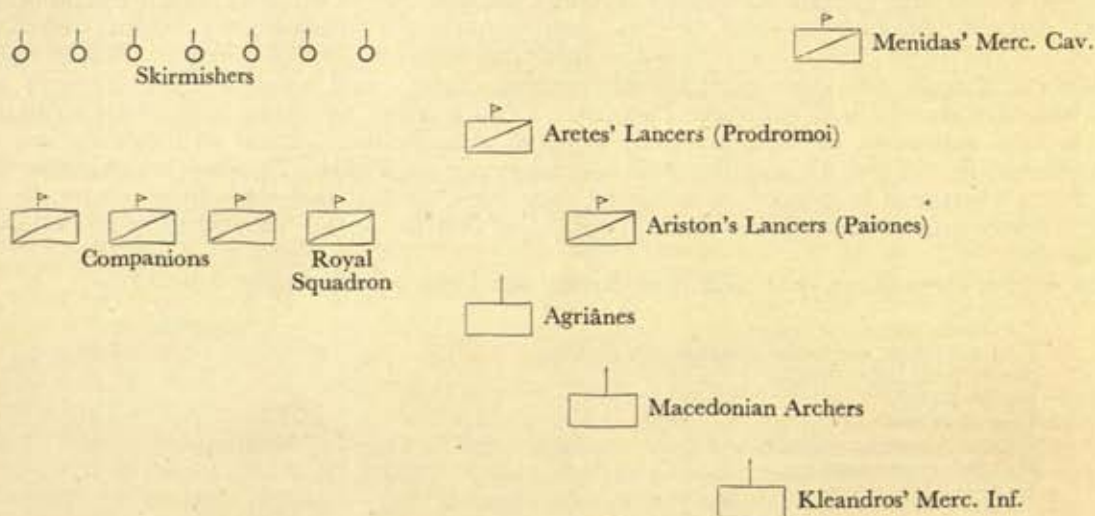
The crisis was over in the spring of 332. With Alexander firmly ensconced in Phoenicia, the Persian fleet was breaking up, its squadrons, except the Tyrian, deserting wholesale and going over to the conqueror. The land-fighting must have died down about the same time, for 4,000 newly-recruited Peloponnesian mercenaries under Kleandros, the brother of Koinos, who must have marched through Asia Minor, and had probably taken part in the fighting, were then able to join Alexander before Tyre (Arr. II. 20). Simultaneously, Rhodes abandoned its neutrality and sent him ten triremes (*ib.*; and cf. Curtius IV. 5. 14). Amphoteros and Hegelochos, Alexander's admirals, issuing from the Dardanelles and the Thermaic Gulf, were able to sweep triumphantly through the Aegean. Pharnabazos stood a siege in Chios, and was captured (*ib.* 15 ff.), though, game to the last, he afterwards escaped (Arr. III. 2). In Asia Minor Antigonos, going over to the offensive, was

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Gomme, 'A Forgotten Factor in Greek Naval Strategy', in his *Essays in Greek History and Literature*.



of the Companions are those 'half of the Agriânes and of the archers, and Balakros' javelin-men' thrown out to deal with chariots.

I would hold it, therefore, for certain, that the troops described by Arrian, III. 12, as forming Alexander's right wing, were in *échelon*, not in column, and that their formation was approximately as follows:



#### ALEXANDER'S RIGHT WING

#### (b) *The Composition of the Left Flank-Guard*

In the right flank-guard, Arrian thus mentions six units: three of cavalry, two of light infantry, and one of hoplites. On the left, on the other hand, he mentions only one unit of light infantry, Sitalkes' Thracians (not cavalry, as Tarn says (I. 48) but javelin-men like the Agriânes, *cf.* Arr. I. 28) and three of cavalry: the Greek Allied (or League) horse under Koiranos, the Odrysians under Agathon, son of Tyrimmas (another native name), and 'in front of all in this part of the field', Andromachos' mercenary horse, balancing those of Menidas.

It would not be surprising if Alexander, for lack of troops, had made the flank guard on Parmenion's wing weaker than on his own, and most writers, including Tarn (*op. cit.* I, 48, 50; II, 184), take it that he did. But if we turn to Diodoros (XVII. 57. 4) we find that he mentions as standing in line, outside the Thessalian cavalry, two units which Arrian omits altogether; the Cretan archers and Achaian mercenaries. These latter were presumably infantry, for both Achaian (League) cavalry under Erigyios and two regiments of Greek mercenary cavalry are otherwise accounted for; and it is hardly likely that Achaia alone produced two mounted units. It can hardly be doubted that Diodoros' mention of them here is right; for the very important Cretan archer regiment is not otherwise mentioned (unless they were *all* out in front of the main line?) and moreover, on the left wing was their normal position, just as it was that of the Thessalians, the Greek Allied cavalry, Agathon's Odrysians, and Sitalkes' Thracian javelin-men. (See Arrian I. 14 (Granikos), II. 8. 9, (Issos) and I. 28, on the battle of Sagalassos.) Alexander's battle-formations were by no means stereotyped, but they were fairly regular. Most of his units had what may be called their normal stations, which were only varied for particular and definite reasons. It looks as if Alexander's left flank-guard was an exact replica of his right, though the troops were not of such high quality; javelin-men *écheloned* back on the left of the Thessalian cavalry; then archers; and then, covering the right, may have been lying farther back, to delay the moment when they had to engage not only the enemy's right wing but his right centre as well.

What is puzzling about this mention of the Cretan archers and the Achaian mercenaries is not so much that our text of Arrian omits it—that might be an early copyist's fault—as that Diodoros gives it; for Diodoros is by way of naming only the units in Alexander's main front (which he does quite efficiently), and not those in the *ἐπικράπιος τάξις* on each wing. And yet, after the Thessalians, who were on the left of the main line, as we are told quite definitely by Arrian, Diodoros mentions these two regiments, while Arrian omits them.



It looks very much as if there were some connexion between these two vagaries; as if there had been some peculiarity in the early sources, such as an accidental omission in the text of Ptolemy, corrected by some other writer. Anyone correcting Ptolemy might well tend to emphasise the point; and this might have influenced Diodoros, or his immediate authority. Meanwhile, omission by Ptolemy would lead to the omission by Arrian of this just as of several other more or less important details.

#### 4. GAUGAMELA

##### (a) *The Sources*

(Arrian, III. 13-15; Diod. XVII. 58-60; Curtius, IV. 15-16; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 32-7.)

The general course taken by the battle of Gaugamela is not in doubt. We have one plain and straightforward account of it, by Arrian, who was himself a soldier, from Ptolemy, who was present. We have also one rather muddled account (as we may see by comparison with Arrian) by Diodoros, and one disgracefully muddled account by Curtius, who ceases to be seriously misleading only when he becomes unintelligible. The inferior accounts, however, preserve some details not found in Arrian, which appear to be authentic, coming originally it may be from the 'Mercenaries' Source'. Some of these statements of fact, as well as some mis-statements, are common to Diodoros and Curtius (who probably used Diodoros, as Tarn has shown, II, pp. 116 ff.). Plutarch, though concerned to give an account of the battle only in so far as it sheds light on his hero's personality, also agrees with them and not with Arrian on one important detail—the question who captured Alexander's camp. On Gaugamela at least, there does seem to be a common source or 'vulgate' underlying all these three writers and quite distinct from Ptolemy-Arrian.

Ptolemy's story, as we have it from Arrian, is a plain, unvarnished, eye-witness's narrative. It is candid and rings true, and there can be no question of preferring the inferior sources to Arrian for any detail which Ptolemy saw. But it is purely a personal narrative. It seems as though Ptolemy made no use of any written source for a day which he remembered so vividly. Every careful reader of Arrian must have been struck by what he does *not* tell us: by the absence, especially, of any details about the fighting on Alexander's left, where Mazaïos so nearly overwhelmed Parmenion's division, and the contrast between this omission and the detailed account of the initial cavalry-fighting on Alexander's right. Arrian's apparent omission to use any other sources than Ptolemy is a pity; one would have liked especially to have an Arrian using the Mercenaries' Source; but as I have suggested above, Arrian probably did not have the Mercenaries' Source available in an undiluted form. He probably had it only contaminated with inferior matter, including armchair battle-pieces like those of Diodoros and Curtius. Arrian obviously, had read widely in the available Alexander-literature; and if our extant secondary authorities give a fair sample of what he found there, one cannot blame him for jettisoning it almost completely and going right back to Ptolemy (especially for battles) and Aristoboulos.

So we have, from Arrian, Ptolemy's account of what Ptolemy saw and took part in on the field of Gaugamela. We have first the oblique advance (ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ δέξιον, 13. 2; ἐπὶ κέρως, 14. 1) to which the Persians try to conform (ἀντιπαρήγον, 13. 2) a manoeuvre which must inevitably have had its effect of stringing out the ranks of an army by no means equal in drill to the Macedonian. Thus to disorder an enemy's array by forcing upon him an unpremeditated sidelong move or change of front had, of course, always been one of the objects of the 'oblique approach', ever since it was first worked out by Epameinondas (*cf.* Plut. *Pelopidas*, 23). We have the detail that the Persian left stretched out far beyond Alexander's flank, ὑπερφαλαγγούντες πολὺ—the best evidence that Alexander really was heavily outnumbered, on the field and not only in the imagination of rhetoricians. And we have the detailed account of the fighting between Alexander's flank-guard and the outflanking Iranian cavalry; fighting in which Ptolemy was not engaged,<sup>6</sup> but which he must have watched tensely, as he still rode, half-right, at a foot pace, with his squadron of the Companions. This part of the narrative lets us see in how masterly and economical a fashion Alexander 'fed the battle'—incidentally, using the units of his flank-guard in just the order that one would expect from their positions in the original formation: first, the outermost units of his flank-guard, from front to rear: Menidas', Ariston's, Kleandros' regiment (I omitted to mention these in my former account of the battle), while still keeping the Companions, on the flank of the main line, covered by Aretes' lancers

<sup>6</sup> Sir W. Tarn has argued (*Alexander*, I. 49; II. 184-5) that the Bactrians and the Saka cataphracts did break into the ranks of the Companions, who expelled them only after suffering considerable losses. His grounds are that Arrian here speaks (13. 4) of 'the Macedonians'—and the Companions were the only Macedonians in this part of the field—and that if 'the Macedonians' after suffering considerable losses (more than their antagonists) 'drove the Sakas out of their array', ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς τάξεως, then they must previously have got in. I do not think this argument is cogent. 'The Macedonians' here simply means 'Alexander's troops'; in the next chapter Arrian uses the word of the camp guard, who were Thracians, as Arrian

himself has told us; and ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς τάξεως surely means 'drove them out of line'—out of the formation which they were trying to take up for a concerted charge. It is inconceivable that Ptolemy and most unlikely that Arrian should have omitted to mention that the cataphracts broke in, if they did; and it is also inconceivable that Alexander should have let them get at the Companions, whom he was reserving for the decisive charge against the Persian King, without using Aretes' Lancers to check them. The Lancers were, in fact, probably between the Sakas and the Companions, and even so, they were not engaged till a little later.



and the Agriânes and archers. We hear about the failure of the Persian chariot charge; about Alexander's commitment, at last, of Aretes' regiment to join in the flank battle; of the decisive charge, victory, and pursuit; and (then and only then) of Parmenion's hard struggle on the left, where Alexander's rightward move had left him, with less good troops, to face more than half of the whole Persian army. One other thing Ptolemy omits, even about the battle on the right: namely that, soon after Aretes' regiment, Alexander unleashed those 'half of the Agriânes' who were 'next to the Royal Squadron' on the right of the Companions. Curtius (IV. 15. 21) supplies the omission, though with characteristic carelessness he makes the 'Agriani' here into cavalry. That Ptolemy omits to mention them here is also characteristic. They were to the right of *and behind* the Companions, whom Alexander just then ordered to turn half-left again, to their original front, and to charge the gap that had opened in the Persian left-centre. Ptolemy saw the Lancers go off; he did not see the Agriânes go, and so they leave no mark at this point in his personal story.

Parmenion's hard fight thus comes into Ptolemy's narrative just at the point where he first heard of it on the day of the battle: after the battle in the centre was won, and at the point when Alexander checked the pursuit in answer to the old marshal's appeal for help. And Ptolemy's narrative of the battle proper ends—a personal narrative to the last—with an account of the desperate struggle, with fronts reversed, between the Companions, coming back to help Parmenion, and the Indo-Iranian cavalry, who had ridden through the gap that opened between the advancing right and the stationary left of Alexander's line; an episode without tactical significance but, from the sheer desperation of the fighting, unforgettable to one who had been personally engaged in it.

Such is Ptolemy's story of Gaugamela; an account just such as one would expect to find, not in a regular history but in an autobiography. To it the inferior writers, largely but not wholly from the Mercenaries' Source, enable us to add some important details. One is that about the 'Agriani' mentioned above; another, the fact that Mazaios was the commander on the Persian right wing (Diod. 60, 5). Curtius also enables us to correct a mistake that is no doubt Arrian's own, based on a misunderstanding of Ptolemy. Arrian says that in the final mêlée between the returning Companions and the Indo-Iranians, Hephaistion, Koinos, and Menidas were wounded. This is no doubt right about Hephaistion; it seems unlikely about Menidas, whose regiment was last heard of, heavily engaged, out on the right flank; and it is scarcely possible for Koinos, an infantry officer. Curtius confirms our suspicions by adding (IV. 16. 32) that Koinos and Menidas were wounded by arrows. This certainly did not happen in the intense hand-to-hand mêlée 'with none of the usual manoeuvring and javelin-throwing', which Ptolemy has just described; it is reasonable to presume that Koinos, whose battalion, on the right of the phalanx, would have come opposite the Mardian Archers, was shot by a Mardian in the decisive charge, and Menidas by a Saka horse-archer during the flank-guard action. Curtius adds that Perdikkas was wounded by an arrow. His case is the same as that of Koinos; but as Arrian does not mention his being wounded, it is possible that his name is a mistake for that of Koinos, derived by Curtius from some other source.

#### (b) *Who Captured Alexander's Camp?*

We thus come to the last crux about Gaugamela: the question, who captured Alexander's camp? Arrian says that it was the above-mentioned Persian and Indian cavalry; these were no doubt (since after Alexander's right-ward move they came opposite his left-centre) the Persian Guard cavalry and the Indians, who came next to them in the captured list. (As Tarn has pointed out, there were no other Persians in that part of the line.) But Diodoros, Curtius, and Plutarch all give quite a different account, according to which the camp was taken by a raiding detachment sent off by Mazaios, early in the action, from the Persian right wing.

This, of course, is not a case of three witnesses against one. Diodoros and Curtius certainly, and Plutarch here probably, share a common source; and one cannot without good reason prefer this unknown source to Ptolemy. Even if it was the Mercenaries' Source, he was not an eye-witness of what happened on the right flank. But Ptolemy, for that matter, was not an eye-witness either; for the sack of the camp took place miles behind his back, at a time when his attention was fixed on other matters. It is really a case of choosing between a third-hand and a fourth-hand account: one reported at second hand by Ptolemy and passed on to us by Arrian, the other reported by three late writers, from whatever early Hellenistic writer gave currency to the Mercenaries' Source and kindred matter. Both the original second-hand reporters, Ptolemy and the Mercenary (if it was he), were sensible men. In order to choose between their stories, when for once they flatly contradict each other, we must consider which is inherently more probable, and which could more easily have arisen by error.

Let us take Ptolemy first. His story, when scrutinised with the care which no story receives until one has been given some reason to doubt it, proves to involve serious difficulties of timing. The gap in Alexander's left-centre, through which the Persian cavalry rode, did not open until the right-hand two-thirds of the phalanx went forward in the grand assault. By that time Parmenion and the whole left wing were already heavily engaged; for this was the reason why the two left battalion-commanders felt unable to go forward with the others. Between this and the time when the Com-



panions, returning from pursuit, collided with the returning Persians who had ridden through the gap, Alexander had charged across the last few hundred yards, broken the Persian centre in what Arrian-Ptolemy describes as a fierce but *short* hand-to-hand struggle (*χρόνον τινά ὀλίγον*), and pursued until recalled by Parmenion's appeal for help. Since Parmenion was already in trouble before the charge started (Plutarch and Curtius say that he had already *reported* being in trouble), the pursuit and indeed the whole decisive episode, including the return, must have been over very quickly. Any attempt to suggest just how long it took is of course guess-work; but one thinks of something like half an hour or forty minutes.

Meanwhile, according to Arrian, the Persian and Indian cavalry had ridden to Alexander's camp, overcome the baggage-guard, freed the prisoners, done some plundering, been driven out by troops from Alexander's second line, formed up again in a dense mass, and ridden back to a point well beyond their original position; for when they ran into Alexander, he was still *on his way* to join Parmenion.

Now apart from the two fights which they are recorded to have been in, and whatever time they must have spent inside Alexander's camp, and the time necessary for their officers to rally and reform a large and polyglot mass of cavalry, after scattering to plunder and then being driven out of the camp with heavy loss (Arr. III. 14. 6), this story also involves the Persians in a ride of at least ten or twelve miles, between riding through Alexander's centre and meeting Alexander in person when returning. For the camps were originally sixty stades apart (Arr. III. 9. 3), *i.e.*, assuming this to be the short Macedonian stade (Tarn, *op. cit.* II, 169 ff.), about five miles; and Alexander's approach-march had covered the greater part of this interval. The Persians, with their unwieldy army, remained where they were; except for the cavalry thrown forward on their wings, they only advanced to meet Alexander at the last moment (Arr. III. 14. 1, ἐπῆγεν ἥδη). Moreover, Alexander had not advanced straight but on a slant, and the Persians had, as we have seen, conformed. It must have been at least five miles from the point where the Persians rode through Alexander's centre to Alexander's camp; and more from Alexander's camp back to the point where they met Alexander, returning from pursuit towards the scene of the battle.

The two time-tables really do not agree.

But there is also a difficulty of place, independently of time. If these Persian cavalry rode to Alexander's camp, then they first rode through Alexander's second line; but let us make no difficulty about that. The second-line troops (who were infantry, by the way) then (seeing the battle in front of them won?) turn and follow them, back along four miles odd of the oblique advance, and ultimately drive them, with heavy loss, out of the lines—in what direction? Obviously, to Alexander's original left, more or less to the east, and away from the scene of the battle, from which they had come. And yet after this, these horsemen form up again, and instead of riding off to the east or south-east, where all was clear, ride round their late vanquishers, back to the scene of the battle, and *round* the battle still going on between Parmenion and Mazaios. If they wanted to get away, why did they come back towards the fighting? And if they wanted some more fighting, then, when they found some, why did they not join in?

As to why the Persian Guard cavalry might have ridden straight to Alexander's camp from their break-through, Sir William Tarn (I. 50, II. 187-8) has suggested a reason: Darius had ordered the rescue of his family. The authority for this is a sentence from the pre-battle *hortatio* put into Darius' mouth by Curtius; 'Eripite viscera mea ex vinculis; restituite mihi pignora . . . parentem, liberos' (IV. 14. 22). On this I would urge, first, that before accepting the theory, the whole speech should be read. It is a typical Curtian performance—not a very good speech, even as silver Latin rhetoric goes; but at such a crisis he obviously felt that Darius, as well as Alexander, had got to have one. Darius appeals to his Persians by all that they hold dear—the pride of empire, the memory of Cyrus, etcetera, etcetera—to *win the battle*. Among other aspects of the desirability of winning is the prospect of rescuing the King's family; that is all. In their context, the words 'eripite viscera mea', etc., strike me at least simply as a piece of exhortation to fight hard, and not even Curtius' idea of a military directive. Secondly, such a directive, if given, would have been so lunatic that even Sir W. Tarn's phrase 'Darius' foolish order', is hardly the word for it. Apart from the fact that, if given, it probably lost the war, and that a directive that any troops that broke the enemy's line should forthwith leave the battlefield would be most people's idea of how to lose it, it was only by chance that the gap in Alexander's line, through which the Guard rode, opened at all. If the Persian flank attacks had succeeded in stopping Alexander's right wing as well as his left, then Alexander could hardly have won a decisive victory, but on the other hand his phalanx would not have broken in two; and in those circumstances no cavalry that had attempted to ride through it would have been in a state to rescue anyone. If Darius wanted to send raiding forces to rescue his family, the place for him to station them initially was on the flank—or on both flanks. There is in fact no evidence that he did *not* concert such action with Mazaios; but on the other hand, there is no evidence that he did.

No, the whole story of Alexander's camp being captured by the Persian Guard is a mass of difficulties. The rival story, on the other hand, that Alexander's camp was overrun by 'Scythian and Kadousian' cavalry (Diod. 59. 5), sent early in the action from the Persian right wing by



Mazaïos, presents no difficulties at all, and also it fits in very well with a fact which our authors are not at pains to stress, and indeed do not mention. This is the fact that Alexander's advance obliquely to the right automatically uncovered his camp, except for the meagre baggage-guard of a few hundred Thracians, which was all he could spare. Mazaïos, a resourceful commander, seeing the enemy's left wing moving away from him and having enough men to outflank Parmenion and to spare, then presumably seized the opportunity to do something that might draw off enemy troops from the main battle, or at least shake their morale, as it shook Parmenion's.

It will be noticed that this episode is not a mere excrescence on Diodoros', Plutarch's and Curtius' view of the battle; it is presupposed in Plutarch's and Curtius' story of Parmenion's message to Alexander *before* the decisive charge; and it even accounts for one, and the most far reaching, of Curtius' extraordinary blunders. Curtius (IV. 15. 6-18) has simply confused the two forces of enemy cavalry which rode round Alexander's two flanks—the force which took the camp, and the force against which he sent Menidas and Aretes; and that is how he comes to make Menidas and Aretes take part in the fighting *at Alexander's camp*!

I would suggest, then, that there can be little doubt that Diodoros', Plutarch's, and Curtius', or rather their common source's, view of Gaugamela is right in this detail as against Arrian. Who was the common source, we cannot say; probably a Hellenistic historian of considerable attainments, who used Ptolemy as well as other material of unequal merit; it is our misfortune that Arrian, disliking some of the inferior matter, rejected him and all his works, good or bad. In this particular case, where what became the 'vulgate' (yes, at least for Gaugamela!) was right, Arrian, going back to Ptolemy and nothing but Ptolemy, was wrong. As for Ptolemy's mistake, it is a mistake of a type not uncommon where an account of a complex action is given as seen through one pair of eyes only. Ptolemy knew the camp had been taken by enemy cavalry that had penetrated behind Alexander's line. Ptolemy knew also that he had been in one of the toughest fights of his life against enemy cavalry that had penetrated behind Alexander's line and were trying to get back. He had not seen Mazaïos' cavalry ride past Alexander's left wing while he was facing to the right; and he was at no pains to find out what happened on Parmenion's wing in any detail; probably, like others of the young men, regarding Parmenion as due for superannuation. He simply identified the two bodies of enemy cavalry, of whose activity behind the line he had good cause to know; and he passed on this natural error to Arrian, and through Arrian into most modern books.

##### 5. THE SEQUEL TO GAUGAMELA: ALEXANDER'S EXPLOITATION OF HIS VICTORY

The victory of Gaugamela had laid open Babylonia, the economic centre of gravity of the Empire, and Susa, one of its political capitals. So much Darius recognised, as Arrian tells us (III. 16). But by retreating himself on Ecbatana, through friendly country which had known him as governor, and by mountainous ways, impassable for a large invading army, he made good his own escape with his Bactrians and what remained of his Greek mercenaries and his guards. Iran was still intact, and the home forces of Persia, Media, and eastern Iran might yet prove equal to holding its mountainous West Wall in the spring.

A point that has never, so far as I know, been properly emphasised in any book (including my own) is the astonishing character of Alexander's achievement in upsetting this calculation by his winter campaign, in January, 330. We take such things for granted of Alexander, just as we take for granted his three campaigns—each involving serious fighting—in Thrace, Illyria, and Greece, all packed into the summer of 335, or his mountain campaign in Pisidia in December, 334, after the Granikos, the conquest of Ionia, and the siege of Halikarnassos. 'Every schoolboy knows'—if he has 'done' Alexander and remembered what he read—that after Gaugamela Alexander occupied Persis, defeating local resistance. Of course he did, one thinks; what could be more natural? One may hazard the conjecture that it did not seem 'only natural' to his opponents that winter; nor, probably, to the Macedonian troops.

Alexander rested his army at Babylon, we are told, for thirty-four days (Curtius, V. 1. 39, who adds some characteristic fatuities about the alleged effect on their military efficiency). This takes us already to mid-November. Meanwhile no doubt Alexander and his Persian-speaking intelligence officer, Laomedon, pumped any suitable Persians from Mazaïos downward on the topography of the roads and mountains ahead. Like Philip before him, Alexander was no respecter of the view that one did not campaign in winter; but the five weeks at Babylon would give time for reports to reach Darius that he had gone into winter-quarters this time. Even when in mid-November he marched out for Susa, which Philoxenos had occupied for him soon after Gaugamela, no one can have guessed his real intention, after reaching Susa (which is about 150 miles due south of Ecbatana) to march on another 300 miles to the *south-east*, to force his way over the mountains, to occupy the Persian home-country in mid-winter, and to deny its man-power to the enemy for the next campaign.

As everyone knows, it was done, after severe campaigning, turning the hill-positions, first of mountaineers in a country so difficult that the kings of Persia had paid blackmail to be let through,



and then of the native Persian home-levies themselves; and 30,000 young Persians (one cannot vouch for the numbers), the flower of the country's man-power, had been rounded up and sent to suitable localities, to be trained under Greek or Macedonian officers as soldiers of the new king. Like all Alexander's brilliancies, it was in the long run a most economical operation. If he had chosen to march from Susa direct on Ecbatana in the spring, he would have had to fight at least some of these young Persians, stiffened by Persian Guards and Greek mercenaries, on a worse gradient than that of the Persian Gates. It was one of the most tremendous pieces of exploitation of a victory in the history of warfare.

In a sense, every educated man knows what Alexander did; but the more one studies him, the more one realises how difficult it is to appreciate after the event the audacity and the still more amazing judgment of what was possible, shown in the planning of his early campaigns by this young man of twenty to twenty-five. One takes his achievements for granted; one underrates his opponents. That is, in a sense, our best tribute to the sheer intensity of the flame that burnt itself out before he was thirty-three.

A. R. BURN

(The above was written before the publication of Mr. G. T. Griffith's article in *JHS* LXVII 77.—A.R.B.)



## ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1951

[PLATES VI-VII]

THIS year, like the last, has been an exceptional one. The Archaeological Society and the Foreign Schools have been engaged in widespread excavation. Among the spectacular discoveries of the season are richly furnished Late Minoan tombs at and near Knossos, and a new shaft grave—somewhat earlier than those inside the Lion Gate—alongside the Tomb of Clytemnestra at Mycenae; attention will be focused on Pylos in the coming spring now that the arrangements for the resumption of work there are completed. The German Institute has been re-established with Dr. Kunze as its new director. The reconstitution of the museums is proceeding at a measured pace: but the most manifest achievement this year has been the restoration of monuments in the field, which has been carried out on an unprecedented scale under the direction of Prof. Orlandos with the help of an exceptionally large allocation—unfortunately not to be repeated—from Marshall Aid. The Tomb of Clytemnestra has been restored, and great improvements have been made at the Temple of Aphaia in Aegina and among the houses of Delos. At Knossos and Phaistos, despite the delay in the transmission to Crete of the sums made available, Mr. de Jong and Dr. Levi, in conjunction with the Ephor, Dr. Platon, have made great progress with the conservation of the two great palaces.<sup>1</sup>

### ATHENS AND ATTICA

At the *National Museum* the repair of the old building has proceeded apace; the roof and windows of the north side and of some galleries on the west and east sides have been remodelled without prejudice to the architectural style. The big basements under the old galleries have also been completed and equipped with fluorescent lighting, and the vast accumulation of material of every



FIG. 1.—ATHENS. ACROPOLIS FRAGMENT.

kind not intended for exhibition has been transferred from the roof and inner court of the old museum; this has resulted in a re-ordering of much of the material and significant discoveries which include that of joining fragments of the Epidauros sculptures and the identification and reconstitution by N. Yialouris of scattered pieces of the Argive Heraion sculptures.

The vase-collection has received two donations, one from Mr. Hadziargyris mainly a collection of Geometric amphorae in severe style. The other, a bequest from Mr. D. Kyriazis, consists of three handsome vases. One is a Mycenaean Palace-Style amphora, the second a Geometric amphora with a prothesis and six mourners on the body, and a lower zone with a file of warriors in the manner of the Dipylon kraters. The third vase is a fine big r.f. stamnos by the vase-painter Polygnotos, with a satyr dancing the sicinnis between two maenads on the back. The scene on



the front is one unusual in the classical period and painted in the grand manner—Helen in frontal view being directed by Paris to the waiting chariot while one of her women waves good-bye—and Mrs. Karouzou suggests that it is copied from an Athenian fresco or cycle of paintings of the story of Helen, perhaps in the Anakeion.<sup>2</sup>

The examination of the sack-loads of potsherds brought in 1940–41 from the Acropolis Museum has been proceeding steadily; this material had been laid as ballast under the floor at the time of the building of the Acropolis Museum and was not known to Graef and Langlotz. It includes joining fragments of Acropolis vases. One Geometric fragment may come from a house-model; the fragment of a plaque with a horseman (Fig. 1), of about the end of the seventh century, is regarded by Mrs. Karouzou as Corinthian rather than Attic. Among Orientalising fragments there is one outstanding bit showing a human head and a dove with white paint on the upper wing by the Ram Jug Painter (Pl. VI. 4b). Among the fine b.f. fragments is a piece with horses' heads and chests from an equipage of the gods on the Sophilos dinos and pieces of two kantharoi by Nearkhos; the fragment of a b.f. plaque (Pl. VI. 4c) was recently found in front of the Propylaea. Among r.f. pieces of which further fragments have come to light are a kylix of Olto (Graef-Langlotz, Pl. 3) and a fragment of the Brygos Painter, also the Pistoxenos Painter's white Orpheus kylix. Other new fragments include a fine ivy-wreathed head of Dionysos by the Brygos Painter, the base of a skyphos with the name of Kharinos incised, presumably therefore as dedicator, the signature of Hieron on a handle that joins the cup by Makron (Graef-Langlotz, Pl. 20. 2), and the name Isodike (that of Kimon's wife) in fifth-century letters on the rim of a lamp. There are also a few bronzes from this Acropolis hoard; the most significant is the elongated lower body of a pre-Daedalic male figure which joins the trunk of the 'Theseus'<sup>3</sup> and comes from a big lebes.

The roof of the *Acropolis Museum* has been partially stripped in preparation for rebuilding, the poros sculptures being given temporary protection; a new basement has been completed opposite the museum door. In the *Epigraphical Museum* the search for new joins has been continued; the latest discoveries are to be published shortly under the title 'Επιγραφὰι ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν VII. Recent acquisitions are mainly funerary inscriptions: The director, M. Mitsos, has undertaken the study of the inscriptions of the Amphiaraion, and ascertained that there are many honorific decrees which still await publication; these will be published in the near future together with the funerary stelai and inscriptions on bases from the site. Various Attic inscriptions are published in articles by Mitsos, N. Kotzias, Miss Th. Arvanitopoulou, and A. Papayiannopoulou-Palaiou in the issues of *Πολέμων IV*, together with studies by D. Pallas of an inscribed Salaminian relief-stele figuring the hero Ajax and by I. Meletopoulos of antiquities from the Piraeus harbour. The *Benaki Museum* has received some notable embroideries and Byzantine icons and carvings in the last years, among them a fourteenth-century mastich-gum icon of St. Nicholas, a fifteenth-century triptych of the Portaitissa, Coptic textiles with representations of Diogenes and Laïs and of Dionysos and Ariadne, and four bone carvings of the fourth–fifth centuries A.D. from Egypt; accessions of the classical section include two gold pendants and a gold lion's head of the third century B.C., Roman glass vases, and a portrait of a young man of the second or third century A.D. from the Fayum. The *Gennadius Library* is receiving some 900 volumes, including old travellers and early Greek printed books, under the will of Mr. D. Kyriazis.

The restoration of the SW wing of the *Propylaea* is to be continued: two grades of the krepis, laid down in poros blocks in 1880, have been replaced in the black limestone from Eleusis. Orlandos has now restored the stage-front and marble flooring of the orchestra in the *Odeion of Herodes*, and repaired the damaged seats in the cavea; new seats for four of the five cunei have been prepared in the quarries, and it is hoped that funds will be sufficient for installing them. The restoration of the arcades is also being studied. Orlandos has in addition carried out minor repairs and restorations to a number of Byzantine churches in Athens and Attica. I. Travlos has concluded his investigation of the building inside the court of *Hadrian's Library*.<sup>4</sup> The first and largest building had four apses and mosaic floors; it was apparently built by the governor Herculius about the beginning of the fifth century A.D., when many other notable buildings of late Roman Athens were erected, and was probably designed as a lecture hall and not as a place of worship (though it came into use as such in the course of the century); the outer structure of the library seems to have been substantially restored at the same time. The building with the four apses was destroyed about the beginning of the sixth century and replaced by a basilica, which in middle Byzantine times gave place to a church of moderate size (the 'Big Panayia') that was totally removed in the excavations of 1885.

The excavations of the American School in the *Athenian Agora* were continued in April–July 1951, the object being to complete the clearing of the market square proper, with some exploration of the deeper levels. The resulting clarification of the lay-out of the Agora can be seen in the new plan (Fig. 3). At the same time the work of conservation has been carried forward, and the main topographical outlines are now much more readily apparent on the ground (compare the photograph Fig. 2, taken from the west end, which shows the reconstructed foundations of the Temple of Ares in the foreground on the left and the rebuilt stage of the Odeion of Agrippa in the centre). Along the west side of the monument of the Eponymous Heroes has been re-erected a short length



of the stone fence on which the Athenians rested their elbows as they read official notices posted 'in front of the Eponymoi'. To the east of this (on the right in Fig. 2) the podium of an altar has been rebuilt, and a piece of the moulded balustrade has been replaced; Thompson considers that this altar, which dates to the fourth century B.C., originally stood on the Pnyx and reached its present position in the first century B.C., and that it may well be the altar of Zeus Agoraios, who is reported to have been worshipped both on the Pnyx and in the Agora.

In the SW sector of the square, in the angle between the Odeion and the Middle Stoa, the tenuous remains of a building had been detected in 1933. These have now taken shape and form as a temple with a porch facing west towards the Tholos, whose overall dimensions of  $11.5 \times 20.5$  m. permit the restoration of a cella more capacious than that of any other temple in the Agora; several fragments of fluted Ionic columns of Pentelic marble found in the area may come from the porch. The construction of the foundations, of conglomerate blocks above a packing of field stones bedded in crumbly mortar, and the associated pottery suggest a date in the first century A.D. The precinct was bordered on the south side by a narrow colonnade of somewhat later date set against the terrace of the Middle Stoa, and it was closed toward the north by a simple wall that ran from the Odeion

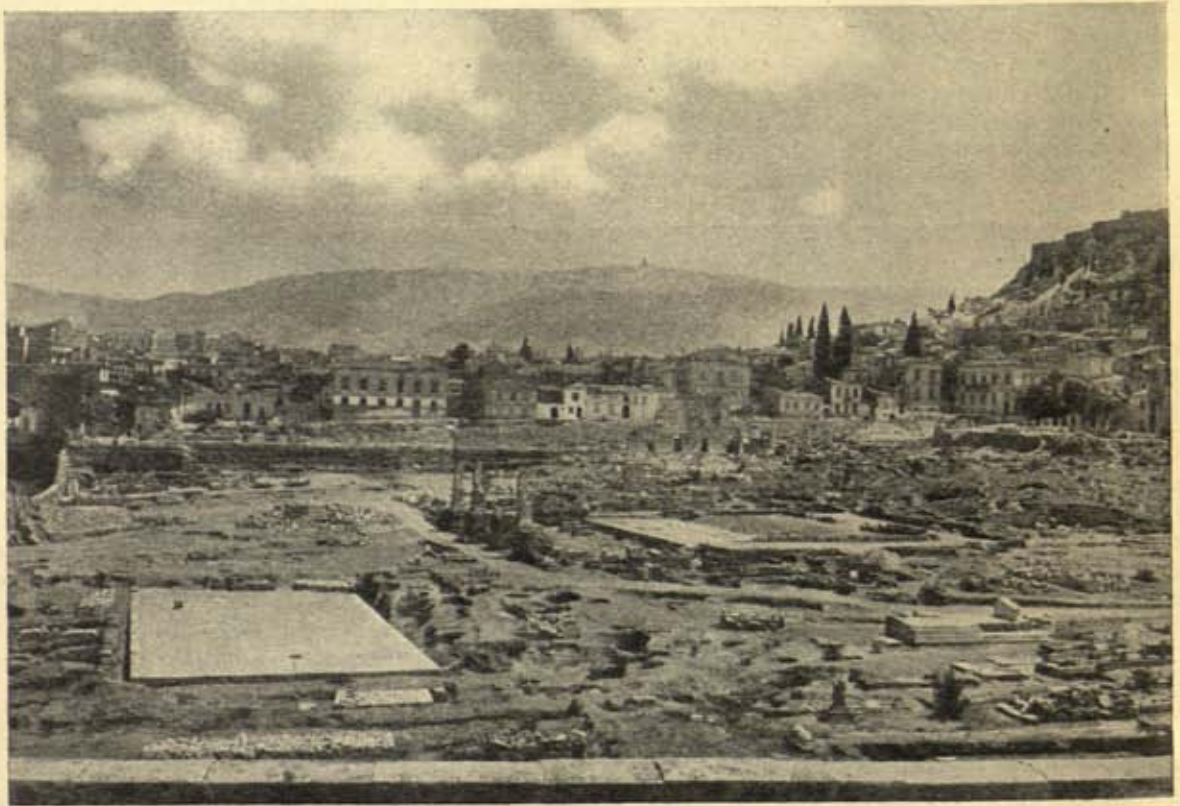


FIG. 2.—ATHENS. AGORA FROM WEST.

to the NE corner of the Tholos precinct. Thompson argues from the late date of its erection that this temple was designed to house some imperial cult which may have been related to civic life.<sup>5</sup> Thorough clearing of the west end of the terrace of the Middle Stoa has shown that the terrace originally stopped short of the building proper so as to interfere as little as possible with traffic through the SW exit from the square. The end of the terrace was at first surmounted by a large monument, the foundation for which is bonded into that of the Stoa and therefore contemporary, and which was doubtless that of the donor of the stoa—in Thompson's view very likely a Hellenistic monarch. This monument was eventually removed to make way for a staircase providing a throughfare along the south side of the Agora by way of the stoa terrace.

Clearing around the Temple of Ares has brought to light the pillaged foundation pits of two large monuments to the south of the building and a terrace along its north flank. Here undoubtedly stood some of the many statues and groups of sculpture located by Pausanias by reference to the Temple of Ares. The more thorough study of the precinct of the Twelve Gods has shown that the enclosure had an entrance in the east as well as in the west side and that the parapet in the second period of the sanctuary, when the worship of Eleos had been introduced, was adorned with a sculptured panel on either side of each entrance; in a communication at the American School at Athens Thompson has given reason for supposing that a group of reliefs surviving in copies, of which one is the famous Orpheus and Eurydice, occupied this position. Another well-preserved stretch



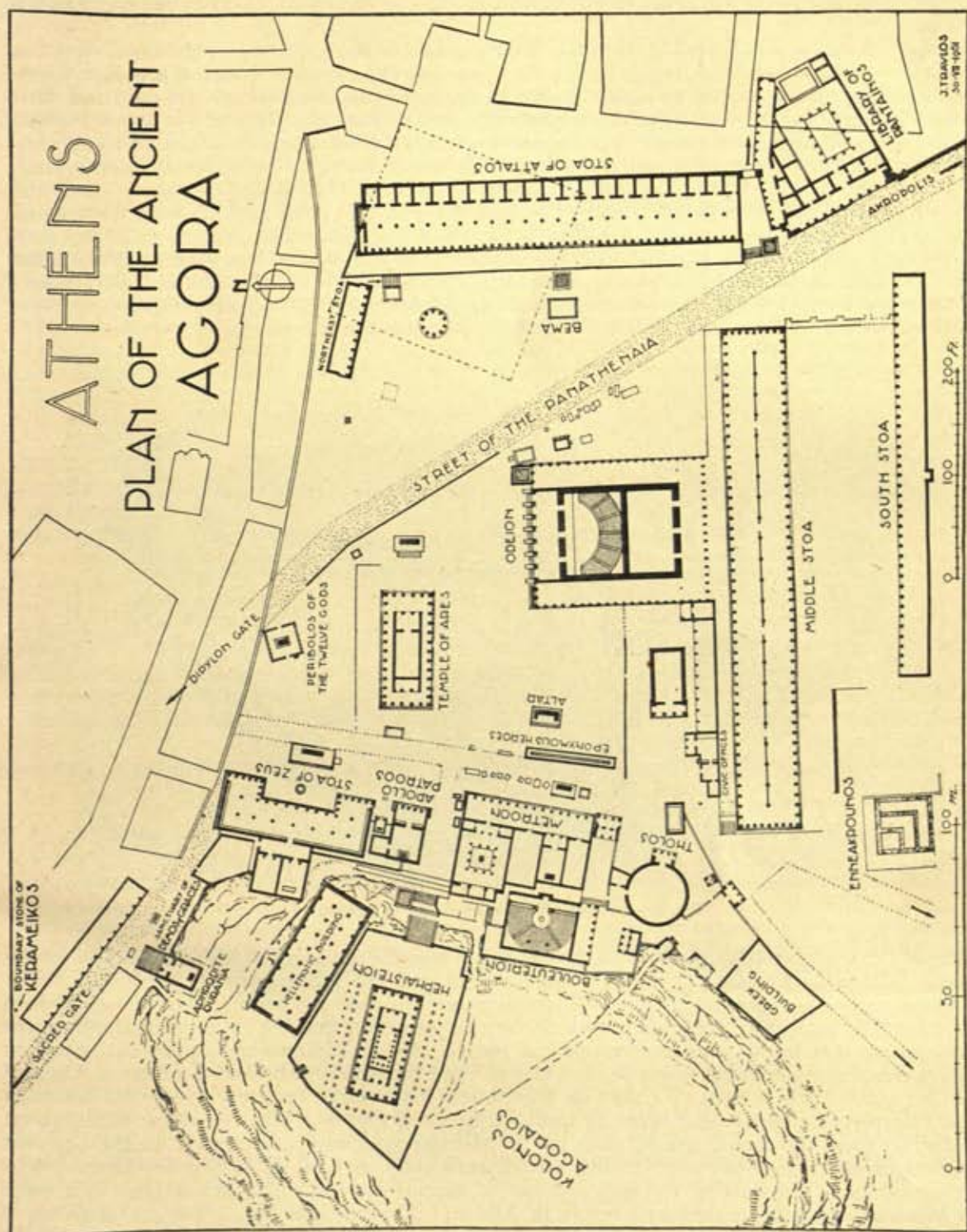


FIG. 3.—ATHENS. PLAN OF AGORA.



of the Panathenaic Way, heavily gravelled and bordered by a stone water channel, has been exposed to the east of the Altar of the Twelve Gods and the Temple of Ares. Two square monument bases, one of which had been moved from its original position, have come to light at a bend in the road here; they may have carried herms, of which several are known to have stood in the north part of the Agora.

In the NE sector of the square more has been exposed of the great square peristyle, now considered to be a closed market, that preceded the Stoa of Attalos (outline given in a broken line in Fig. 3); the new evidence tends to confirm a date in the time of Lykourgos (338-326 B.C.) and shows that the building, in its western part at least, was never finished. The small round building previously exposed in the NE corner of the square, which is a good example of Vitruvius' first type of round temple (the *monopteros*, without cella wall), is now shown to have had unfluted columns of serpentine and a brick dome; the floral ornament on its cornice blocks and the associated pottery indicate a date in the Antonine period.<sup>6</sup> The removal of a tongue of modern road has exposed the east end of the Middle Stoa and the area to the SE of the Stoa. This area now appears to be a plaza-like widening of the Panathenaic Way bordered on the east by the Library of Pantainos and on the west by a narrow screening construction of which as yet only the indented eastern foundation has been exposed between the ends of the Middle and South Stoas; this screen closed the east end of the 'Commercial Market' which lay between the two stoas.



FIG. 4.—ATHENS. VASE FROM TOMB IN AGORA.

One of the most interesting results of the campaign was the discovery of Mycenaean and Proto-geometric burials in the area of the Temple of Ares and the NE corner of the square. The Mycenaean period is represented by three chamber tombs, four pit graves, and two sepulchral deposits found in small pits, the Submycenaean by one pit grave, and the Proto-geometric by three pit graves, one urn burial, and one cremation burial. Other Mycenaean burials had come to light in previous seasons to the south of the Odeion,<sup>7</sup> and beneath and behind the Stoa of Attalos,<sup>8</sup> and it thus seems fairly certain now that the Agora area was a large cemetery in Mycenaean times and that deep-level digging will bring to light many more graves. This cemetery, which seems to be distinct from the family burial plots of the Mycenaean-Geometric periods on the adjacent slopes, was in continuous use over a long period from early in L.H. II to the developed Proto-geometric period. The earliest tomb-groups are of special interest since they belong to a stage of the Mycenaean hardly represented before in Athens. The bowl on Fig. 4 is one of a group of ten vases found, together with an ivory comb and personal ornament, in the pit grave of a young girl, and presenting affinities with the pottery from the first Shaft Grave at Mycenae. The chamber tombs were cut in level ground and of necessity small with steeply inclined dromoi. One of them, beneath the Temple of Ares, had received no less than thirteen burials ranging over about three centuries (L.H. II—L.H. IIIc). Besides painted vases the tombs yielded some jewellery, a small bronze bowl with spout and wishbone handles, bronze weapons and obsidian arrowheads.

A number of ancient wells have been cleared. Two have yielded important groups of pottery—one, which contained much household ware and finer pieces including the fragment attributed to the Barclay Painter (Pl. VII. 1), filled in about the middle of the fifth century, the other closed at the



time of the construction of the Stoa of Attalos. New pieces of sculpture this season include two more fragments of the archaic man-and-dog stele<sup>9</sup> giving the man's hip and the dog's muzzle, some fragments of female figures in high relief attributed to the Altar of Ares,<sup>10</sup> and a fine fourth-century torso which may belong to a muse and come from the pedimental sculptures of the Temple of Apollo Patroos.<sup>11</sup> The crop of ostraka is small, but is distinguished by one of Pericles with painted characters<sup>12</sup> and the first known ballot against the demagogue Kleophon, who was put to death in 404 B.C., and who now appears as the son of Kleippides, a general in 428 B.C. (Pl. VII. 2). Pericles' ostrakon will probably have been cast in 443 when Thucydides, the son of Melesias, was banished, and Kleophon's in the celebrated ballot of 415 B.C.

G. E. Mylonas has resumed the excavation of the Early Helladic village and cemetery at *H. Kosmās* (Cape Kolias). The centre of the settlement has been cleared, revealing a group of five houses set among streets and lanes; the houses were oblong, with a front porch, a large main room, and an inner chamber. The walls were of mud brick on a stone footing which is preserved to a height of 0.75 m. Much Early Helladic pottery similar to that of Zygouries and Eutresis has been found, with obsidian blades and tools on a scale suggesting a local industry. A well-laid road ran along the seaward side of the settlement. The NE side of the cemetery has been cleared and two groups of cist-graves with five burials each have been opened; they seem to have been covered with slabs secured on a sort of cantilever arrangement and in the main to belong to the last years of the settlement. The grave shafts were almost devoid of furniture, but offerings seem to have been laid in small enclosures above, one of which contained forty-nine small vases and much obsidian. The pottery from the cemetery shows strong Cycladic connexions, and fragments of stone vases and a marble figurine have come to light.

Travlos reports on the results on the excavation which he has recently made in continuation of Kourouniotis' latest work in the Telesterion at *Eleusis*.<sup>13</sup> The position of the Anaktoron has been established near the centre of the Periclean Telesterion, at the west corner of the Peisistratian one; and Travlos believes that it already occupied the same position at the back of the Solonian building almost directly above the remains of the Mycenaean oikos.

Orlandos has undertaken the renovation of the Temple of Aphaia on *Aegina*, as appears in the photograph courteously provided (Pl. VI. 2). The battered standing columns are being strengthened and the iron bands removed; missing parts have been filled, and the new stone, mined in the ancient quarries, has been coloured to blend with the old; the two columns of the opisthodomos have been re-erected. Orlandos proposes to restore a section of frieze and geison at the SE corner of the temple and four or five cella columns with their architrave. Some misconceptions on minor constructional points and the distance between the cella wall and the first internal column in the German publication have been corrected. The marble plinth of the west akroterion has been found, with cuttings for the fitting of the cover tile; and a piece of a hand evidently from a figure of the west pediment has come to light. A Greek guide to *Aegina* has been published.<sup>14</sup>

#### THE PELOPONNESE

At *Corinth*, apart from study for publication, which is proceeding, no work has been carried out this year; three panels of mosaic pavement of rooms in the Roman Villa have been transferred to the museum. Tests have been carried out at *Sikyōn* with a view to an excavation by the Archaeological Society. Orlandos has cleared the façade of the ancient Bouleuterion of the Hellenistic city and found the broad foundation of a colonnade extending along the whole north front which faced the Agora. Chance finds include the base of a black-glazed lekythos with the word  $\text{H}\Sigma\text{P}\text{O}\text{O}\Sigma$  (=  $\eta\rho\omega\varsigma$ ) incised in the Sicyonian alphabet, a headless marble figure of a youth of the first half of the fourth century B.C., and a bronze votive discus.

The excavations of the Archaeological Society at *Mycenae* were continued this summer by I. Papademetriou and Ph. Petsas on the site where the magazine full of Mycenaean vases had come to light last year.<sup>15</sup> The excavation has been extended to the NE and north, and in the uncovering of other rooms the house has been shown to continue northwards. Many plain vases and L.H. III sherds have come to light in one of the rooms here; the L.H. IIIb house with the magazine was built on top of the ruins of a house dated by L.H. II and III pottery. A large number of vases, mainly plain long-stemmed L.H. III kylikes, were found in a room alongside. Another room beside the magazine, which had seemed likely to prove to be a store, contained over a hundred figurines in human and animal forms, some of considerable interest; but it can hardly have been a magazine. Many L.H. IIIb vases were discovered here, including plain kylikes and stirrup-vases with simple decoration; also two alabastroid stirrup-vases with confronting sphinxes and birds resembling the designs on ivories from Attica. Fragments of Corinthian vases from archaic graves have also come to light here.

M. S. F. Hood has continued work on a small scale at the Cyclopean Terrace Building to elucidate details of its plan left unresolved at the end of the 1950 campaign. The building seems to have had a rectangular plan resembling a megaron. Trenching up the slope brought to light two superimposed walls, the lower belonging to a Mycenaean house with a beaten earth floor, which was apparently destroyed by fire; adjoining this was another Mycenaean building, also



destroyed by fire, whose floor was partly rock-cut and partly laid in plaster. In the investigation of another Cyclopean wall just south of the Cyclopean Terrace Building, the corner of a store-room of an earlier building containing pithoi with clay supports and stirrup-jars has been revealed. On the Áspra Khómata ridge north of Mycenae building traces and remains of a temple have been examined by Papademetriou and Petsas;<sup>16</sup> the finds include tiles, one being inscribed, and the lower part of a Hellenistic marble statue.

Following on the consolidation of the walls of the dromos last year, Orlandos has completed the reconstruction of the Tomb of Clytaemnestra. The dome is 12.95 m. high internally and proves to climb rather steeply towards the top<sup>17</sup> and not to describe a true arc in profile. Thirty-seven of the 170 running metres of stone blocks required to complete the dome were recovered and re-used, while the remainder were cut in the ancient quarries of Mycenae. The tomb is illustrated in the photographs Fig. 5, which were taken in November 1951 just before the closing of the dome.

In the cutting away of the low crest immediately west of Clytaemnestra to get earth to cover the dome a sculptured stele with a taumachy and its socketed base came to light, and an excavation revealed a shaft grave about 4 m. deep with a rock floor and a low roughstone wall at the sides. There were two skeletons, one laid with its head to the east, the other in a crumpled position as though disturbed. The finds consist of a gold 'garter', a small silver jug, three bronze swords up to a metre in length, daggers and a spearhead, a big Minyan vase with a brown surface, and smaller

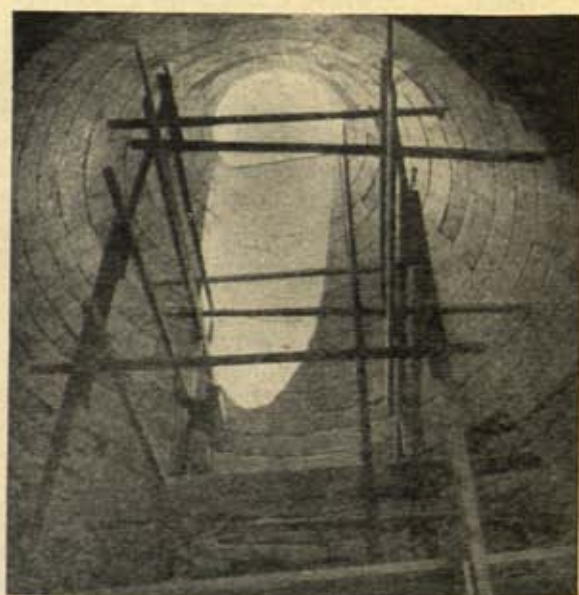


FIG. 5.—MYCENAE. TOMB OF CLYTAEMNESTRA.

vases of matt-painted ware, one being polychrome. The deposition to which the vases belong should date somewhat earlier than the sixth Shaft Grave, and is of exceptional interest as showing that the burial customs of the Shaft Grave dynasty go back into what are regarded as Middle Helladic times. Papademetriou and Mylonas have discovered traces of a circular stone peribolos outside the new tomb and believe that this enclosure contains further graves. They have also observed the socketed bases of stelai at the Shaft Grave Circle inside the Lion Gate. A Greek illustrated guide to Mycenae and Tiryns has been published in the Βιβλία Τέχνης series.<sup>18</sup>

Papademetriou also continued the Archaeological Society's excavation at the Maleatas sanctuary at *Epidauros* this summer. The east corner of the retaining wall has been disengaged and in the clearing of the wall many pieces from the cornices and engaged columns of the stoa surmounting it have been brought to light. The west end of the retaining wall has been cleared down to the substructure, which rests on the soft rock. The black earth from the altar tip on the slope in front of the wall has been excavated and has yielded much pottery of prehistoric and Hellenic times; Papademetriou has distinguished a series of strata in the debris here. A large rock of reddish 'ironstone' has come to light at the west angle of the retaining wall; in its east side is a cavity which was filled with earth containing principally Mycenaean pottery and many L.H. III figurines; this rock was left untouched when the retaining wall was constructed in the late fourth century, and may have been a cult-spot. A rougher supporting wall of a double row of poros blocks 1.2 m. thick has been exposed 7 m. in front of the great retaining wall; it provided a level space through which the road to the temple terrace may have passed. Finds include fine Mycenaean and Corinthian pottery and further fragments of the mid fifth-century r.f. krater depicting Heracles, Athena, and Dionysos.<sup>19</sup>

Papademetriou has reconnoitred the site of the ancient city on the peninsula SW of *Palaiá*



*Epidauros*, where there are abundant remains of buildings and fortifications; he reports a series of Doric column drums from a large temple, which are incorporated in a building of Christian times, various sculptures including the lower part of an archaic kouros torso, a fourth-century B.C. schiststone base with a dedication to Apollo, and in the Early Christian basilica on the hill-top a dedication to Aphrodite, whose temple is mentioned by Pausanias, with the unique epithet *Ἐρμιά*. Various antiquities have come to light in the clearing by peasants of an ancient well at the corner of the Asklepieion at *Troizen*; a length of a fifth-century painted terracotta sima has been recovered and brought in to the British School; it is of interest because no building of this date has been noted on the site.

At *Mystrà* Orlandos and the epimelete Drandakis have carried out extensive tasks of conservation in the ruin field. Streets have been cleared, the palace has been tidied up, the chapel of H. Georgios has been restored, and wall-paintings in H. Theodoroi and the Aphendikon have been cleaned by the nun Kale Khristakou. The church of H. Khristophoros by the palace has been excavated to a depth of two metres and sections of fourteenth-century wall-painting recovered. With the restoration of its dome the eleventh-century church at *Khristiánoi* is now shown to full advantage once again. N. Zapheiropoulos has conducted a brief excavation at *Mázi* (Skillountia) on the site of the temple discovered in 1939. The temple measured *ca.* 16 × 35 m. and had a



FIG. 6.—GORTYS. MULTIPLE BATHROOM.

Doric peristasis of 6 × 13 columns and Doric columns inside the cella. A complete triglyph-and-metope block, pieces of geison,<sup>20</sup> column drums, and cover-tiles with painted palmettes have come to light; the tiling is of Corinthian type and in marble, whereas the building itself is of a soft stone. The form of the triglyphs and the double-T clamps suggest a date around 400 B.C. From the pedimental sculptures a hand holding the handle of a bronze sword has been found. The temple has been pillaged in places right down to the lowest course of the foundations.

In the spring J. K. Anderson of the British School carried out a small excavation in conjunction with the Antiquities Dept. in the ancient ruins near the village of *Mamousià* in Achaea, and uncovered the foundations of a small house. There were three rooms on the ground floor: the largest seems to have been a workroom and store, and contained many loomweights and two pithoi, a few bronzes of less interest than the goose-handle previously discovered, and a quantity of pottery which probably dates to the first half of the first century B.C. The second room was a bathroom, and the third seems to have been merely a lean-to against one wall of the house and was perhaps used as a stable. At *Dervéni*, an hour below *Mamousià*, Zapheiropoulos also reports the discovery of a pithos-burial containing twelve Geometric vases of local manufacture and rumours of other Geometric vases previously discovered; this is of some significance for the history of Achaea, where Geometric wares have not previously come to light apart from two or three vases at *Khalandritsa*.

The French School has continued its work at *Gortys* in Western Arcadia. The object of the 1951 campaign was to complete the exploration of the site and the excavation of certain monuments already partly examined. The building A south of the temple<sup>21</sup> seems to be a stoa facing north rather than a propylaea. On the site of the temple itself there is a massive wall on a slanting axis which preceded the construction of the temple and is dated by Corinthian Geometric pottery. A



potter's workshop of the Roman period has been uncovered against the façade of the temple. On the north of the excavation there is a large inhabited quarter to which the buildings F and G and other houses exposed this year belong. The most interesting single discovery of the season is a rotunda of ca. 7 m. diameter sunk in the ground on the south side of the temple (Fig. 6); it has nine bath-cubicles, which are vaulted and plastered and were equipped with a seat and a small trough for the feet. A narrow stair led down from the entrance and separated one of the cubicles from the rest; and a short narrow corridor gave access to a room, not completely excavated, with a mosaic floor. The tiles found here bear the stamp ΑΣΚΛΑΠΙΟΥΦΙ. A hundred and fifty coins and a prehistoric stone axe have come to light on the site.

The Early Christian mosaics discovered by Orlandos at *Tegea* have been roofed and made accessible. Orlandos has completed the restorations at the monastery of *H. Lávrā*; a museum has been constructed in which historical relics and illuminated manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries are exhibited.

#### CENTRAL AND NORTHERN GREECE

At *Delphi* the French School has continued the soundings begun in 1950 around the Dionysion on the east of the Hieron.<sup>22</sup> Bousquet has explored an archaic set-up with a brick eskhara full of ashes, which is dated by Corinthian sherds and fragments of Attic Kleinmeister cups; and a row of three polygonal-walled oikoi has been discovered on a terrace. Under the sixth-century level lies an earlier layer with traces of walls and Protocorinthian and local Geometric potsherds. An abbreviated form of the name Dionysos can be read on sixth-century sherds found near the eskhara. The buildings of the Dionysiac cult were not damaged in the construction of the third-century A.D. baths; on the north of the east oikos was a bathroom of Hellenistic times, which may perhaps have belonged to the house of the priests of Dionysos. These soundings have brought to light some sculptural fragments and a number of inscriptions. L. Lerat has explored further sites in *West Lokris*, especially on the Aetolian border. No inscriptions have been found to permit the identification of further sites, but at *Pentápolis* near *Skaloúla* five fifth-century epitaphs have been found by the remains of a Hellenic tower. At *Malandrino*, where inscriptions had been found in 1950,<sup>23</sup> a new inscription with regulations for a Dionysiac thiasos of Roman date has come to light.

N. Verdeles reports on his activities in *Thessaly*. At the ancient *Pteleos*, about 4 km. beyond the modern village of the same name, he has excavated at two points against the foot of the *Gritsa* hill, which is crowned by the ancient city fortification.<sup>24</sup> On the north-west of the hill traces of a Middle Helladic house, with a well-preserved wall and pavement outside, have been uncovered; beneath this are traces of an earlier building of the chalcolithic era. A couple of hundred metres away from this a partly collapsed Mycenaean tholos-tomb has been revealed in a small mound; the confused bones of more than fifteen dead came to light, together with a considerable number of complete L.H. III vases, arrowheads, gold and porcelain ornaments, four carved sealstones, and an ochre powder perhaps used as a cosmetic. Near the adjacent village of *H. Theódoroi* another such Mycenaean tomb has come to light; the finds include six skulls and disturbed bones, a small chalcedony sealstone carved with a griffin, and an L.H. III one-handled cup with two incised zones in a technique which descends from the 'Minyan'.

On the west edge of the modern town of *Phársala* a tholos-tomb with a dromos, encircled by a peribolos of one course of orthostates on a socle, has come to light. The tomb contained two poros sarcophagi and numerous early Hellenistic sherds; but two r.f. fragments and an almost complete krater by Exekias, with the battle round the body of Patroklos and a four-horse chariot, have also been recovered. It is hoped that the completion of the excavation will show whether the tomb was built in archaic times or later. Two inscriptions have come to light in the city of *Phársala*; one is a fragmentary marble dedication, the other a marble stele with two rosettes and the epitaph Μένιππος Παναίρου. The *Volo* Museum has also received a well-preserved Hellenistic marble head, 15 cm. high, of a goddess with polos (Tykhe?) (Fig. 7), and a bronze 6 cm. high in the form of a standing heron, both from the region of *Phársala*. About 4 km. SE of *Tríkkeri* at the entrance to the Gulf of *Pagasai* the hypocaust of a Roman bath has come to light at a site under *Mt. Tisaion*, where ancient and Byzantine remains are spread about, and which Verdeles is inclined to identify with the ancient harbour *Tisai*. At *Gonnoi* a marble votive slab inscribed 'Ασκληπιού and an anthemion-stele have come to light close to the ancient city; the latter has two rosettes and a Hermaic stele in relief under the inscription Νικαρχος Δημάρχου. Arvanitopoulos' catalogue of the painted stelai of *Demetrias* is continued in the new issues of the periodical *Πολέμων*. Th. Axenidis publishes some new public inscriptions of *Larisa* in the second volume of the philological journal *Πλάτων*.

With the appointment of an epimelete of the Antiquities Department there has been a resumption of archaeological activity in the *Epeiros*.<sup>25</sup> The archaeological collection in the *Paregoritissa* at *Arta* now contains over forty inscriptions, which Petsas hopes to publish shortly. During the sinking of the piers of the new iron bridge across the *Arakthos* alongside the celebrated hump-backed Bridge of *Arta*, it was recently ascertained that the lowest courses of the old bridge are



formed of large, well-worked blocks of ancient construction. A small excavation at *Pistianà* near Arta brought to light a small enclosure with cremation burials; one burial was untouched and contained a bronze lebes with gilded lip and folding handles which was filled with burnt bones; the grave also yielded four clay vases of local style and iron knives. From the same area a bronze statuette representing Artemis or an Amazon in a short chiton and leather breastplate has been recovered; it is probably of Roman date. Petsas notes the ruins of a Roman bath-complex, with an octagonal chamber, at *Strongyli* west of Arta.<sup>26</sup> Farther north at the village of *Káto Graikikón* some tombs of the Byzantine period containing jewellery have been excavated.

At *Nikopolis*, at the point called *Karaouli*, a piece of mosaic has come to light, and a sounding on the spot has shown that it belongs to the narthex of a large Early Christian basilica with aisles and transepts, whose plan resembles that of the Basilica of Doumetios; the nave is *ca* 32 m. long, and the width *ca* 18.5 m. The building is to be excavated in the coming year by Orhandos. Petsas publishes a variety of marble sculptural and architectural fragments and inscriptions found in recent years at *Nikopolis*.<sup>27</sup> In May 1951 a small trial excavation was undertaken among the ruins of the ancient *Kassope*, one of the cities destroyed by Aemilius Paullus, which lies on Mt. *Zalóngos* north of *Nikopolis*. An almost square building measuring 32.85 × 30.9 m. was selected for excavation; it is constructed of good polygonal masonry and contains seventeen rooms and an entrance ranged



FIG. 7.—PHARSALA. HEAD OF GODDESS.



FIG. 8.—THASOS. UNFINISHED HEAD.

along the interior walls, with an internal colonnade of probably twenty-two eight-sided pillars. One room was partly dug; it had a hearth at a depth of 1.1 m., but the original floor lay about a metre lower than this. The building had an upper storey and seems to be not later in date than the fourth century.

A prehistoric settlement site, with occupation continuing down to Hellenistic times, was discovered at the end of 1950 in the course of field work near *Kastritza* south of the lake of *Ioánnina*. Soundings this year have brought to light, amongst other types of pottery, punctuated sherds related to those of the earlier Neolithic of Thessaly,<sup>28</sup> abundant sherds with plastic decoration of rope-type and stud-like disks which resemble those of *Dodona* and other regions, fragments with highly polished dark brown surface, ribbon-handles and flaring lips which form a sharp angle with the interior wall of the vase, and finally much ware with dim geometrical decoration in brown or dark brown glaze; these are similar to the wares of *Boubousti* and the *Páteli* graveyard in Western Macedonia.<sup>29</sup> At *Votonósi*, on the *Métsovo* road east of *Ioánnina*, where an ancient acropolis is to be seen, a series of rough grave stelai of Hellenistic date was discovered in 1940 and is published by Petsas.<sup>30</sup>

At *Véria* (*Beroea*) in Western Macedonia a rock-cut chamber tomb has come to light, with its entrance closed by two courses of poros blocks, in a hillock NW of the town. It had two chambers, the second one provided with two irregular niches containing burials, and the first containing two pyres and burnt bones. The finds included much pottery, clay lamps and female statuettes, and some mediocre goldwork. The burials seem to date early in the second century B.C. M. Andronikos has also continued his investigations among the tombs around *Vergína*. Some of the burials have



been proved to be older than the fifth century at least; the finds include jugs with cut-away neck, bowls with thumb-grip and other types current in Macedonia in the Early Iron Age. The investigations are to be continued. Styl. Pelekanidis has continued his activity in *Kastoria*. The basilica of H. Nikolaos of Kasnitzis has been completely restored, and notable wall-paintings of the eleventh century have come to light on the inner faces of the two tympana—on the east Christ between the Virgin and the Baptist (the Trimorphon), and on the west an almost intact Ascension. The little basilica of H. Athanasios of Mouzakis, which was in danger of collapse, has been repaired; the late fourteenth-century paintings have been secured, and a Transfiguration belonging to this series has been uncovered. The main concern has been with the much damaged early basilica of the H. Anargyroi. The walls of this church have largely been rebuilt in their original form and the roof has been renovated; finely preserved paintings of the second period of the building in the eleventh century have been brought to light in the tympana—the Trimorphon on the east and Virgin flanked by angels on the west—and marble fragments on the sanctuary screen have been recovered. The notable churches of *Kastoria* have thus been put in order, except for the little basilica of the Taxiarkhai of the Gymnasium which Pelekanides hopes to restore in its original form next year. Old icons, manuscripts, wood-carvings, and specimens of jewelled and embossed work have been collected in the vestry of the metropolis with a view to the formation of a museum of Byzantine art.

Kh. Makaronas reports the discovery of numerous Late Roman and Early Christian tombs on a building site at *Edessa*; the finds include a piece of a marble slab with a metrical epitaph and a relief-stele depicting a child between a man and a woman. A tomb with smoothly plastered walls and two marble cover-slabs has come to light just north of Ryzári near *Edessa*; beside the tomb was a fragment of a cylindrical milestone of Licinius with the figure A', indicating presumably the first mile on the road from *Edessa* to Thessalonike. In building operations on the street of the Friendly Society in *Salonica* (cf. *JHS* LXXI, 244) further ancient material has come to light: in one plot a large inscribed marble funerary altar of Roman date with a pine cone carved on top and scrolls surmounting the ends, and in another two sarcophagi—one merely inscribed, and the other with cupids in the centre of the sides raising a garland whose ends are held by female figures at the corners. In the levelling of the ground for the International Exhibition a tomb of late Roman date has come to light with its interior walls revetted in marble; it contained an intact glass vase. In vol. VI of the *Επιστημονική Έπετηρίς* (*Salonica*, 1950) Kh. Makaronas publishes ephebe-inscriptions of Thessalonike and concludes that the gymnasium was at the site of the Basilica of St. Demetrios, and B. Kallipolites publishes two funerary inscriptions found in *Salonica*. Tasks of conservation have been carried out in the rotunda of St. George; and with the replacement of the marble balustrade-slabs of the gynaikonitis the restoration of the Basilica of St. Demetrios is now reported complete. Makaronas has this autumn been continuing the excavations of the Archaeological Society in the late Roman cemetery by the Leof. Stratou.<sup>31</sup> Many tombs of types α, β and γ,<sup>32</sup> and built altars similar to those discovered in 1949<sup>33</sup> but without shafts for liquid offerings, have come to light, as also a built funerary monument in the form of a marble sarcophagus covering two ostothekai. Of special interest is a tomb of type γ, which had a cylindrical pipe on top for the percolation of liquid offerings;<sup>34</sup> it contained the relics of the cremation of a woman and abundant offerings, including gold and bronze ornament and about fifty terracottas, mostly of a pudic Aphrodite. Other finds from these tombs include gold earrings and a pendant, and terracotta statuettes of a pair of embracing Erotes and a naked Aphrodite with a dolphin.

In Thrace a vaulted tomb of the Macedonian type has been investigated at *Stavroupolis* west of *Xánthi*. It is constructed of large squared blocks of local marble and consists of a dromos, vestibule, and tomb chamber. The dromos was 4.68 m. long, with a breadth of 1.58 m., and likewise covered by a vault now largely destroyed. A door 1.23 m. wide leads into the vestibule, which measures 2.07 × 3.05 m., and connects by a door a metre wide with a tomb-chamber of 3.1 × 3.05 m. One of the doors had marble leaves similar to those found in the tombs of *Langadá* and *Vergína*. Traces of coloured ornament were noticed on the lintels and on the decorated band which runs round the tomb-chamber at the level of the springing of the vault. On present indications the tomb is dated within the limits of the mid-third and mid-second century B.C. From the region of *Didymóteikhon* in East Thrace an ancient cist-grave and a copper statuette of Bendis are reported.<sup>35</sup> Stikas has commenced large-scale restoration of the old metropolis of *Sérrai*, which had been burnt down by the Bulgarians; numerous reliefs and colonnettes from the Byzantine chancel-screen have come to light.

#### EAST AEGEAN AND ISLANDS

In *Thasos* the French School has continued the excavation of the Agora. The south-east part has been thoroughly cleared, and many pieces of the architecture of the great stoa there have been recovered; the building had monolith Doric columns, unfluted on the lower shaft, with separate capitals, and oval terminations to the flutes under the necking-ring. In the centre of the Agora two small monuments, which have been partially excavated to the south and SE of the Heroon of L. Caesar,<sup>36</sup> have been completely cleared. The excavation has been extended to the south angle of the Agora, revealing the whole length of the main drain which traversed the Agora from SE



to NW. A late wall, which perhaps belonged to a Genoese fortification, has been dismantled, and a large number of ancient blocks, including three large inscribed bases of the fourth century A.D., have been recovered from it. In the south corner the foundations of a new structure, as yet unidentified but perhaps a Roman trophy, have been discovered, and pieces of its architectural decoration have been retrieved. Trenching has brought to light the back wall of the North Stoa at a distance of 13.8 m. back from the foundations of the stylobate at the front; there is no trace of a colonnade down the centre. Two bases have been partially cleared behind this wall, marking the line of the road which bordered the Agora.

A stretch of fine walling, perhaps from a peribolos of irregular outline, has come to light in the village, and two sculptured fragments and an inscribed funerary base have been discovered in the graveyard at Patáryia. The season's finds include several sculptured heads, one being of Scopasian style, and the unfinished piece Fig. 8; twenty-eight new inscriptions are reported—among them a fragment of a law concerning the cult of Demeter, a fragment of an honorific decree, and lists of theoroi.

Lehmann has continued the excavations in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods in *Samothrace*. Behind the NW corner of the 'New Temple' a large building, apparently of the early sixth century



a. TEMPLE PLATFORMS.



b. PROTOGEOMETRIC AMPHORA.

FIG. 9.—SMYRNA.

B.C., has been brought to light; it is 22.6 m. long (north-south) and 10 m. wide, and had a west façade of six limestone columns in the Doric order between the wall-ends, and a single step; the building was of soft stone and stuccoed outside and in. The walls were built of stones which decreased in height upwards, the upper courses being laid in such a way as to resemble mud brick; there are also traces of wooden ties. Over the frieze there was a white stuccoed stone geison without mutules, of which many fragments are preserved, and some show deep nail holes for the affixing of a terracotta sima. The geison of the long sides was raked upwards at the corners, and there was no horizontal geison under the gables of the end walls, the latter being built without a break up to the slant of the gable. The interior must have been covered by a wooden roof supporting tiles of the Laconian type. The building was restored at the end of the fifth century B.C., when a new floor was laid on a carefully set bed of small stones with a raised border along the edges; this floor was itself superseded, probably in Hellenistic times, by a stuccoed pavement whose surface was coloured red, and later green. The walls were originally whitewashed, but later painted grey-blue and finally red with white stripes. Two gilded bronze letters, which were fastened to the entablature, have been recovered. The building continued in use until the sixth century A.D., when it collapsed in an earthquake; to this time belongs a heavy marble plane for finishing stuccoed



surfaces, which was found on the floor. The fill under the fifth-century B.C. floor contained debris of numerous dedications including a fine fragmentary terracotta head and Attic b.f. and r.f. pottery.

Immediately south of this building another massive foundation, previously incompletely investigated, has been more thoroughly examined. It measures  $17.15 \times 14.5$  m., and bore an unroofed structure of marble with a Doric columnar façade, probably of four columns between antae, on the long side facing west. The intercolumniations were closed by grilles, and the central space was wider than the others. This enclosure seems to have contained an altar and to date to the latter part of the fourth century B.C. Fragments of inscribed architrave and altar blocks indicate a dedication by Arrhidaios, the half-brother of Alexander, from the spoils of conquest. A fragmentary inscribed stele of late Hellenistic date has come to light just west of the pronaos of the 'New Temple', which forbids entry to the building to people not entitled; Lehmann considers it probable that, while the Anaktoron (access to which is shown in another inscription to have been denied to the uninitiated) served for the first stage of initiation, the 'New Temple', with its curious liturgical installations and its benches for spectators, may have served for the higher initiation, or epopteia. Marble architectural members of the 'New Temple' have been assembled on the spot with a view to the re-erection of the Doric façade; and valuable fragments of sculpture have been recovered in the removal of the spoil dump of earlier excavations in the sanctuary.

On *Lemnos* the Italians have resumed their study of the finds from the prehistoric city at Poliókhní; more than a hundred vases have been restored, including some great pithoi. Tests have been made at points on the site, which has suffered severely during the war years. D. Mantzouranis publishes in *Πλάτων*, vol. II, an invocation or dedication to the Mother of Nemesis by the poet M. Pompeios Ethikos in *Mytilene*; the mosaic floor of the Early Christian basilica of H. Demetrios at Ypsilometopon in Lesbos has been secured and roofed.

The excavation at *Old Smyrna* was carried on in June–July 1951 under the direction of E. Akurgal and the writer, and the work in the main sectors of excavation has been brought to a conclusion. In the large trench, where a succession of habitation levels ranging from the fourth to the seventh centuries had been cleared in past seasons, the excavation was carried down to the prehistoric level immediately preceding the Protogeometric occupation. Two strata of curved buildings were first disengaged, and below these a series of rectangular rooms probably dating to the ninth century was found; one of these rooms contained a number of clay bins and many charred beams on the floor. Traces of buildings of the Protogeometric period were slight, except in the south part of the trench where a single-room house with rounded ends, built of mud brick on a damp-course of small stones, was disengaged; the Protogeometric deposit, however, proved to be a rich one, consisting of more than one stratum, and seems to have covered a considerable span of time; in its forms and development the pottery corresponds closely to Attic Protogeometric. Several vases have been temporarily made up, including an amphora (Fig. 9b) and a large krater. A few scraps of Mycenaean vases came to light as strays in Protogeometric and latest prehistoric levels (Fig. 10). The local Geometric style seems to have become established in the second half of the ninth century; the Protogeometric pottery must go well back into the tenth century but probably not earlier. In the early stages the Protogeometric pottery looks like imported ware alongside the local monochrome pottery, but in the ninth-century levels the painted ware becomes dominant; if the pottery can be used as a guide, it would seem that Smyrna had already passed completely into the hands of the Ionians before the end of the ninth century. The completion of the primary Ionic settlement of this coast and the events associated with the Panionic federation are therefore likely to be of greater antiquity than has latterly been supposed. In the eighth century the proportion of monochrome wares in use was extremely low, but there seems to have been a revival of the grey ware in the seventh century. A narrow strip has been dug to link up this sector of excavation with the temple area, and in this way a cut ninety metres long has been carried across the north part of the site; fifth-century occupation has come to light in this trench, and a gap in the history of the site has thus been filled.

The excavation in the temple area has been continued. Traces of earlier platforms have been discovered by tunnelling; the earliest temple platform had a curved corner at the south-west and was erected about 700 B.C. The three successive archaic platform walls appear superimposed in Fig. 9a, with the south cella wall behind. The west front of the great outer platform of the temple has now been cleared; it seems to have had a staircase on the south-west and a coping of whitestone blocks stepped down at the corners. This platform was built over the foundations of a handsome hairpin-shaped house of the early seventh century, whose plan has been recovered nearly complete. On the south side of the temple was an enclosed area raised to a height not much below the temple platform, which was cut in two by the passage which gave access to the temple from the town quarter on the south. This passage was entered through a pylon (Fig. 11, where the rough wall on the left is a later addition), which seems to have been flanked by buildings above and may therefore have had an upper storey. The external doorway of the pylon (on the right in Fig. 11) was constructed of neatly fitted whitestone blocks without cramps; the inner face of the threshold block was protected by a beam, presumably of wood or bronze, which was held in position by three slotted stone brackets embedded in a plaster step. The inner doorway of the pylon facing the passage



seems to have been open and was probably flanked by piers of white stone carrying the lintel; since almost all the whitestone blocks have disappeared, any restoration of the pylon and temple platform is conjectural; but there seems little doubt that the builders of the later seventh century sought deliberate effects from the contrast of white tufa and dark andesite. The stone flags are

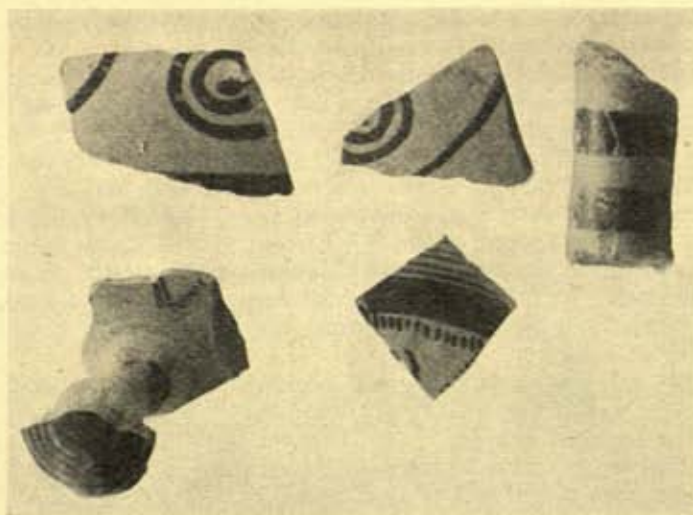


FIG. 10.—SMYRNA. MYCENAEAN POTSDHERDS.

still in position over a large part of the floor of the pylon and show that there was a considerable slope of the ground in this part of the entrance passage. At the east end of the temple no platform wall has come to light, and the stone filling continues at a high level to the edge of the hill; it therefore seems likely that the temple platform was carried eastward to the city wall. A trench was dug on the north side of the temple platform where in 1949 three battered whitestone column drums



FIG. 11.—SMYRNA. TEMPLE PYLON.

were found at the foot of a later revetting wall, but no further architectural pieces came to light here; in this sector a short stretch of stout wall was dug to a depth of over two metres and seems to form the outer face of a fortification wall whose mud-brick core was overridden by the temple platform. Two fragments from archaic capitals or bases of white stone, with lotus patterns carved on the convex and concave members, have come to light in debris on the south side of the temple; they still bear traces of red and yellow paint; the larger one is illustrated in Pl. VI. 3.



A number of fragments of smaller drums and squared stone slabs came to light in the digging of the temple pylon; some of these were found high above the floor, and it may therefore be assumed that they have fallen in from a building above. The pylon itself was blocked in the sixth century by a rough cross wall and formed a chamber in whose sloping earth floor a number of pithoi were set; above the pithoi was a deep burnt layer with a number of iron spearheads, and below, between the pithoi and the floor of the seventh-century pylon (Fig. 12), a large cache of iron weapons was uncovered; this cache also consisted largely of spearheads, some of considerable length, but also contained an iron helmet with a bronze plume-knob. The fragments of an inscribed bronze bowl came to light in the weapon deposit; the vase has not yet been cleaned and only the word ἀνέθηκε can be read at present.

Work on the city wall was confined to the east side. Owing to recent depredations the line of the late seventh-century wall can no longer be established with certainty at the south end, but an outer wall, probably of later date, has been traced along the whole east side of the site and the opening for a gate has been discovered at the NE corner. In the large trench the stone fill which backed the early city wall underlies the curved buildings of the eighth century and appears to be fitted against the rectangular buildings of the ninth century. A short campaign in the easterly part of the graveyard brought to light further tombs, one apparently of Late Geometric times, and another archaic painted sarcophagus.

The pottery discovered this year is mainly monochrome and painted wares of the Proto-geometric and Geometric eras; but some fine Orientalising fragments have come to light around the temple, and in other sectors a few fine figured pieces of the sixth century have been found. A small cache of Corinthian vases was unearthed in the temple enclosure, once again of Transitional and Early Corinthian date. A hoard of twenty silver coins of the Lydian, Persian, and Phocæan mints was found in a habitation level of about 500 B.C.

A new museum has been opened in the Izmir Fairground, containing a selection of the finer exhibits from the old museum. The French excavation at *Klaros* has been continued, and the Swedish excavations at *Labranda* concluded; they are being reported on in the journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara. G. E. Bean and the writer have commenced a surface exploration of the *Halikarnassos* peninsula. Two pre-Mausolan Carian town-sites have been discovered, one of them probably being Palaimyndos; a Hellenistic watchtower has been found on the *Çatallaradasi* (Karabağlar Island), and upwards of a dozen new inscriptions have been copied. At *Mylasa*, where an archaic Ionic head was discovered a few years ago, the upper part of an archaic marble kouros has come to light in the course of constructional work in the modern town.

On *Delos* there has been no excavation this year, but progress has been made with studies preparatory to the final publication. Orlandos has cleaned the walls of various buildings and secured them against deterioration by cementing the joints. The walls of the House of the Masks have been rebuilt, four rooms with important mosaics (including the panther-borne Dionysos and the dancing silen) being roofed in concrete with joists in imitation of the wooden ceiling. The walls of the House of the Trident have also been rebuilt in preparation for roofing. N. Kondoleon has continued his excavation on *Naxos* for the Archaeological Society. On the south side of the Mycenaean room discovered last year<sup>37</sup> the wall of an adjacent room has been discovered. A court or vestibule, 7 m. broad and 3.3 m. deep, has been cleared in front of the first room; it may be an addition to the original plan since it overlies the corner of another Mycenaean house. On the landward side walls of later date have been examined; in contrast to the Mycenaean walls these are here preserved to a height of as much as 1.8 m.; they belong to a complex of rectangular rooms which descends as late as Early Geometric, much pottery of this era (including whole vases) being preserved. The occupation, interrupted at that date, seems to have been continuous from Mycenaean times. Among the finds from the surface earth are the shins of an almost life-size archaic kouros. Late tombs, consisting of stone slabs jointed with thick mortar, have been found in the vicinity; they contained no offerings. The cemetery area on the east has yielded two Cycladic marble idols and requires further investigation. Kondoleon has also discovered a great temple, which is preserved for three courses above the euthynteria, in the valley of the village of Sangri.

Two fragments of Diocletian's edict have been discovered in *Euboea* by E. Doyle of the American School, and members of the British School have noted antiquities, including a fragmentary victor-list, at Alivéri (the site of the ancient Tamynai) in the same island. In *Ithaca* Miss Benton has completed the study of the finds from British excavations in the island; a thousand vases and various other exhibits have been put in order and are arranged in the new museum at Vathy, and a representative collection of sherds is stored in the basement.

War damage to the fortifications of the Knights in *Rhodes* is being repaired. Two sections of the harbour enceinte have been rebuilt; the easternmost tower of the Collachium has been secured; the east wall of the Fort of St. Nicholas has been rebuilt, and St. Paul's Gate has been re-erected together with the contiguous fortification of the French Tongue. Archaeological exploration has been begun this autumn in Rhodes by the Archaeological Society under the direction of the Ephor, I. Kondis, to whose kindness I owe this notice. Excavation was limited to the city of Rhodes



itself. In the mediaeval city remains of ancient buildings brought to light in the clearing of debris of the wartime bombardments have been investigated in the area SW of the central gate of the commercial harbour. The west side of a late Hellenistic building over 21 m. long has been uncovered on a width of 8 m. in Pythagoras St.; its plan has not yet emerged fully; it is overlaid by a Byzantine building constructed in the main of Doric architectural members. Alongside Sophocles St. and Euripides St. the west wall of a Hellenistic building, 6.5 m. deep and 2.14 m. broad, has been excavated for a length of 28.5 m. Both these buildings, whose excavation is to be carried to a conclusion, evidently belonged to large complexes situated alongside the great harbour. By the Acropolis the upper stretch of Pindos St., which follows the line of an ancient road, has been investigated, and adjacent building traces have been excavated; the ancient road here had a breadth of 4.3 m. and led from near the temple of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus to the centre of the great harbour. The first part of a Greek historical and archaeological guide to Rhodes by Th. Papamanolis has been published.<sup>38</sup>

#### CRETE

The year 1951 has been one of quite exceptional achievement in Crete. A substantial grant from Marshall Aid has enabled considerable progress to be made in the reconstitution of the



FIG. 12.—SMYRNA. DEBRIS IN TEMPLE PYLON.

Herakleion Museum. The colossal statue of Pythian Apollo has been transported from Gortyn and set together, and the sculpture room will be opened when the new marble bases are ready. Many vases have been restored. Show-cases have been improved, and new ones ordered from England; and in spite of the lack of space the present exhibition is reported to be more satisfactory than before the war. Platon hopes to have twenty galleries open in the coming year and to divide the material into a select exhibition for tourists and collections for study. Funds have not been available for the other museums and collections in Crete, but at Réthymo the Venetian Club is being restored with a view to serving as a museum. Under the will of the publisher, Andreas Kalokairinos, a house in Herakleion has been given to be reconstituted as a Cretan Historical Museum; it is to contain a collection of Byzantine and mediaeval antiquities, an exhibition of works of popular art and folklore of modern Crete, and historical relics of the struggles of the island. In conjunction with this plan a Society of Cretan Historical Studies has been founded and has already made progress with the collecting of exhibits for the new museum. The mediaeval collection of the Herakleion Museum will probably also be transferred there. The cloister of the monastery of Arkadi has been restored, and wall-paintings of the Gouverniotissa and other Byzantine churches in Pediada and Merabello have been secured and cleaned.<sup>39</sup>

There has been considerable activity at Knossos this year. About a kilometre north of the Palace a number of Roman graves and four Late Minoan tombs were revealed during the preparation of the ground for the erection of a sanatorium this spring, and P. de Jong proceeded to excavate on behalf of the British School. Of the Minoan tombs, one was a shaft grave containing a single



skeleton clasping a bronze sword *ca.* 60 cm. long with a gold-plated handle bearing spiral decoration and with a pommel of ivory (Fig. 13). By the side of the skeleton lay a beautifully chased bronze spearhead with a butterfly incised on the socket (Fig. 13 left). The other three were small chamber tombs. One contained a bronze sword, a spearhead, and the unique remains of a bronze helmet with attached cheek-pieces and plume-knob; the second was well furnished with vases and bronze weapons—arrowheads, a spearhead and a gold-riveted dagger, below whose hilt lay an octagonal gold bar grooved round the middle and tapering at the ends (probably the toggle of a baldric); under this gold toggle lay an ivory strip with running spiral decoration, perhaps from a quiver or scabbard; other finds from the same tomb include two fine lentoid sealstones of onyx, a cylinder of carnelian, and a three-sided sardonyx seal with gold mountings. In the third chamber tomb two burials were found, apparently raised on wooden biers or sarcophagi on legs, with a good collection of Palace-style vases. Trials were made in the vicinity, but with the exception of one empty cutting no further graves came to light, and it seems that those found formed a small family burial plot rather than part of a larger cemetery.

A double-chambered Roman tomb, perhaps of the earliest Christian times, came to light in the diversion of the watercourse here; it is built of coursed rubble with heavy coverslabs, and has a marble grille floor with a cross, and a niche at the back. Remains of a Roman house were also uncovered; in one room was a polychrome geometrical mosaic *ca.* 3.50 × 2.85 m. with hippocamps and plant motives and the signature of the maker Apollinaris (Pl. VII. 3). Fifteen wells were dug and produced much pottery, especially of Roman times. Other finds in this area were a length of classical cornice with painted cymatia, and a Corinthian anta-capital. In the village of Makryteikhos close to the Palace a small room of an L.M. III house was cleared and yielded painted vases.

M. S. F. Hood, together with de Jong, continued the excavation in the Middle Minoan cemetery of Ailia just south of the Mavrospélio, where a large chamber tomb has been excavated. This tomb had two main compartments divided by a thin wall of rock; the further compartment was packed with larnakes of Middle Minoan type piled two or three deep, and had been blocked off before the collapse of the tomb with a large slab closing the entrance. An interesting feature was the discovery of a stairway cut in the rock and leading up through a low cliff to the cemetery area. Hood also examined the foundations of a circular structure at the south end of the Isopata ridge, which proved to belong to a tower of the classical fortifications of Knossos. In the Palace of Minos great progress has been made with the conservation of buildings and the replacement of worn gypsum pavements under de Jong's supervision; the approach to the West Court has been relaid so that the visitor comes up to it at the correct angle by way of the Minoan ramp. Miss A. E. Furness has completed the study of the neolithic pottery of Knossos.

Styl. Alexiou has excavated two chamber tombs at *Katsabà* outside Herakleion on the east. The one, which was square, contained a bench along one side with the bones of six dead, apparently in a sitting position, on it. The vases have marine and plant ornament and are fine examples of the Palace Style; two burners with traces of polychrome decoration were also found. The second tomb is horseshoe-shaped. It had a blue-painted sarcophagus along one side; underneath this were a tripod altar, an alabaster vase with fittings for the lid, and two burners. Two more burners, with polychrome patterns, stood in the middle of the chamber; a handsome jug with plastic decoration consisting of stud-like knobs decorated with nautilus and plant-life was found in the corner, and at the back of the chamber were two Egyptian vessels—one of diorite with a flat rim and cylindrical handles, of the type falsely called predynastic, the other a tall, two-handled alabaster vase with a cartouche of Thothmes III. Other finds in this tomb include fluted gold beads from a necklace, which had spilled from a bronze cup, and a sard engraved with a figure of an animal. The second tomb is slightly later than the first, and is dated about the beginning of L.M. III. Neolithic pottery, for the most part undecorated, has come to light in deep levels in the vicinity. A Minoan stone stool has come to light in *Póros* on the east side of Herakleion; it has three depressions in the seat for the comfort of the sitter. Unfortunately, the building to which it belonged has been levelled and built over.

Platon has continued the pre-war excavation at *Prasà* NE of Knossos with funds provided by the Archaeological Society. The Middle Minoan repository, which had been excavated to a depth of 13 m., has been dug deeper, and M.M. Ib pottery has been recovered. House A, whose construction belongs to the same period, has been further investigated, the four basement rooms being cleared; one room had sixteen pits, perhaps designed to hold pithoi; the second had an indoor shrine. The pottery from the latter is M.M. III and L.M. Ia and includes two interesting vases with light-on-dark decoration of double axes coupled with the sacred knot. A repository containing M.M. III pottery was found in connexion with the basement of the shrine. The ground floor of the house had a veranda on the east side; besides the front door there was a second entrance with a connecting stairway. A second house (House B) has been dug not far away; it forms a square of four rooms; one is shown to be the kitchen by the presence of a hearth, a pot-stand, jars buried in stones, and a perforated trough which may have been the sink. Another room contained a great funnel-mouthed vessel with two holes for carrying on a pole. The pottery shows that the house



was occupied in the L.M. Ia phase; among the finds is a four-sided limestone vessel with an inscription.

At *Vathýpetro*, 4 km. south of Arkháles, Marinatos has continued the excavation of the Minoan mansion found three years ago. The whole south face, consisting of large squared poros blocks, has been cleared. In the SW corner an entrance comprising a hall with four pillars has been discovered; in front of it is a porch with a stone kalderim, and the trace of the road ending here shows similar stone paving. Among the rooms of the south quarter the easternmost is especially interesting. The walls are of ashlar and the floor is paved with poros slabs; two pillars, not quite axially placed, stand in the room. This room was converted at a somewhat later date into a wine

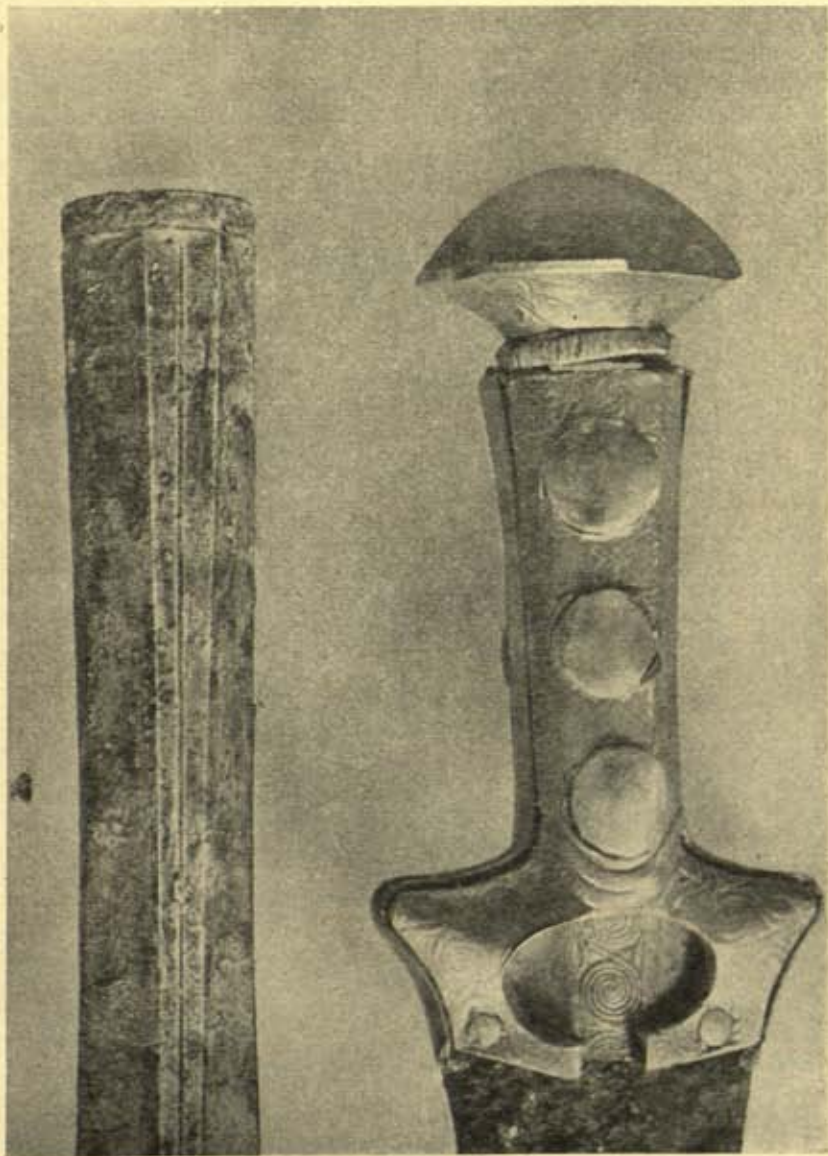


FIG. 13.—KNOSSOS. WEAPONS FROM SHAFT GRAVE.

press, whose installation has been preserved intact. It consists of a large basin provided with a strong spout, with a jar underneath partly embedded in the pavement. Another jar rests on a rubble stand alongside. On the floor there is an irregular stone basin, with a stone drain which discharges into the adjoining South Corridor of the mansion. Finally, two large pithoi and about a dozen smaller vases were scattered about the floor. Marinatos suggests that in the dead season the room served for a weaving-shed since many loom-weights were found in a pile in the SE corner of the room. To the west of this two smaller rooms served as labourers' quarters. The west extremity of this quarter was furnished with a poros staircase, eight steps of which are still in situ; there is no evidence of an upper storey, and this stair apparently led to a veranda at a higher level. The whole of this quarter shows signs of a second occupation after the original construction was ruined; but the interval between the two periods was not great. Farther east was found a heap of pottery from the cleaning of the ruins. The building continues into the adjacent vineyard, which has been



expropriated for excavation next season. The discovery of a potter's kiln is anticipated on account of the presence of much burnt and vitrified pottery.

Approximately in the centre of the whole complex a hall with the bases of three columns in hardstone has been found. In front of the stylobate a stone drain is still preserved. To the east of this hall extends the central court of the building. Upwards of 40 m. to the east are the remains of a supporting wall about 80 m. long. It seems probable that the complex was originally designed as a palace but never completed. The building was begun, *ca.* 1600-1580 B.C., from the west front; but owing to the instability of the ground it was soon in ruins. Instead of being completely abandoned, however, it was transformed into an industrial installation with looms, wine and perhaps olive presses, and possibly a potter's kiln. Soon after 1500 B.C. it was finally abandoned. The ceramic finds are L.M. Ia, and only three early marine-style sherds have been found up to date. Other finds include three gems with fowls, the lower part of a youthful bronze 'adorant', some stone vases and a shapeless piece of iron, all in L.M. Ia contexts. In a little treasury evidently serving religious purposes some vases, mainly handleless cups, were found upside down.<sup>40</sup>

At *Mesámbela* near Arkhánēs a poor Mycenaean tomb with an incised larnax has come to light; there were no grave goods. In July an Early Minoan tomb in a rock hollow was discovered by workmen at *Dourgoutzi* near Kánli Kastélli. Several dozen subneolithic-E.M. I vases have been recovered, some being smoked and partly incised, while others are of the type of the H. Onouphrios jug with linear-painted decoration. Alexiou further investigated the tomb and recovered three bronze knives, of which one is unusual in having a reinforcing rib, obsidian blades, and ornaments. The finds came from a burnt stratum full of charred bones, which Platon regards as indicative of a sacrificial or purificatory rite rather than of cremation of the dead. This find has already been published by Alexiou.<sup>41</sup> Between *Dourgoutzi* and Galéni a large building of rough limestone blocks has come to light, possibly in association with sherds of the latest Mycenaean epoch.

At *Mália* the French School has concentrated on the private houses of the Minoan town. A new house of L.M. I date has been investigated to the east of the palace; its plan has emerged clearly, and the finds comprise pottery of good quality with floral and marine decoration, numerous instruments of bronze, including axes and a saw 1.40 m. long, as well as an ivory sphinx of Egyptian type which may have been the foot of a casket. To the south of the Palace the large House E has been further explored. Its central part, where L.M. IIIa and b pottery abounds, cannot yet be satisfactorily planned, as it had been considerably altered at the time of the 'Mycenaean' re-occupation. The north part, however, better preserved in its L.M. I state, is of so monumental a lay-out that the building must be regarded as a small palace rather than a private house; the 'ironstone' threshold is 4 m. long with an L-shaped court in front of it, and there are numerous plaster floors and pavements. The limits of the building have not yet been ascertained. Here also there have been interesting finds, including engraved sealstones, stone lamps and vases, and bronzes. In a field on the site a large offering table has come to light, which resembles those of the Palace and Khrysólakkos (Fig. 14).

In the district of *Pediáda* several tombs have come to light, including a chamber tomb at *Episkopi* with two larnax-burials and other skeletons in a squatting position against the walls, and a geometric pithos-burial at *Alitzi*. At *Lytto* a base of a dedication has come to light; it is of local stone, and bears reliefs of a hero with his horse and hounds chasing deer, with the inscription 'Αχιλλεύς Ἀχιλλέως. At *Gortyn* the corner of an important Hellenistic building has come to light and been investigated by the Italian School; the walls are formed of a double row of great orthostates resting on a foundation of gypsum blocks. At *Metropolis*, also on the site of *Gortyn*, a fine marble copy of the *Athena Parthenos* has come to light; investigations by the Italian School on the spot resulted in the discovery of an extensive late Roman building, one of whose areas has the form of a small stadium.

At *Phaistos* D. Levi has continued the exploration of the earliest stages of the Palace. At the SW corner of the façade of the first palace, where previous tests by Pernier had been negative, Levi has exposed an impressive building complex of an earlier period going down to a depth of 6.5 m. below the later pavement. This construction shows two strata, the earlier sealed by charred roof-beams and the second by a great fall of 'cement.' Fine Middle Minoan polychrome pottery has come to light in both these layers and has been found in special abundance in a sunken area approached by a flight of steps with a red plaster pavement; some dozens of whole vases have been recovered, as well as numerous fragments consisting of barbotine wares associated with new forms and unusual colours, and painted plastic vases which included three handsome bull-rythons.

Another test in the adjacent Room XXVIII confirmed the stratigraphical observations already made; in later times a hole was bored in one of the walls here to give access to the substructures under the façade of the second palace; among the finds from this test are two fragments of a lid with a painting of two women in full skirts. The stages of neolithic occupation have been further explored in a sounding in one of the magazines of the second palace; laid pavements and beaten



earth floors, wall traces and hearths have come to light, and the pottery shows decoration in ochre on a polished surface, enhanced sometimes by dichrome decoration in red and white. The work of restoration has been continued. The quarries in which the gypsum was cut for the palaces have been identified near H. Triada; saws have been established, and with newly cut slabs from these workings the Lustral Area no. 83 has been successfully restored. Hellenistic walls in the Upper Court have been removed to reveal the colonnade against the retaining wall.

At *Khouméri* in the district of Mylopótamos east of Réthymo two rock-cut tombs of L.M. III date have been discovered; they contained numerous vases, a small pithos full of bones and a plainly decorated sarcophagus with lid. At *Grívilá*, also in the district of Mylopótamos, a bronze statuette has come to light (Pl. VI. 1); it is 0.25 m. high, and represents a worshipper with long locks falling in coils on the dress and the right arm held across the body in an attitude of reverence. Platon has made tests on the acropolis there and established the existence of an extensive settlement. Trials on the spot where the statuette was found revealed traces of buildings and terrace walls of Protogeometric-Geometric times, but no trace of Minoan buildings though L.M. I sherds are abundant on the surface. Farther west, at *Drámia* in Apokóronas, a rock-cut tomb has come to light, containing a larnax whose lid is decorated with a plastic animal's head at the end; the decoration of the sarcophagus consists of two horned animals.



FIG. 14—MALIA. OFFERING TABLE.

In East Crete at *Kanéne* near Siteía a larnax with painted scenes has come to light together with a stirrup-vase and a bronze knife. Twenty-three vases of Mycenaean date have been discovered in a tomb at *Xerámbela* near Kavouísi and been removed to the Ierápetra museum. Alexiou has dug the archaic shrine at *Kavouísi*, which proves to be similar to those at Dréros and in the settlement at Karphí which are connected with L.M. III bench-shrines. Unfortunately this shrine has suffered serious damage, but it has been shown to have had a bench-altar at the back and on it the worship probably continued (as the figurines of the latest deposit indicate) down into classical times; the shrine was isolated in a rocky position and was in all probability a rustic sanctuary. At *Alatsómáveri* near Pakhyámmos Alexiou has dug an L.M. III chamber tomb with interesting bath-shaped larnakes; two of these are well preserved, and are decorated with octopods, papyrus flowers, and stylised lilies. One of the sarcophagi was empty, the bones of the dead having apparently been transferred to a sacrificial pit, marked by a holy table, at the foot. A handsome lidded pyxis, decorated with religious motives and graceful birds, and containing necklaces of glass paste and of gold and precious stones, was found alongside.

In *H. Nikólaos* a Middle Minoan tomb with a small elliptical larnax, and containing a small pithos and a cup ornamented with a spray, has come to light; the finds correspond to those found by Seager at Pakhyámmos. Platon has recovered the finds from two simple rock-tombs near *Kritsá*. These consist of a large number of vases (including stemmed kylikes) of different types and workshops found, together with three larnakes, a burner with perforated lid and two stone vessels, in the larger of the two tombs. The second tomb contained a skeleton laid on a shallow oblong basin, but two cylindrical urns with interesting decoration of sacred symbols held burnt human bones



and thus offer, together with Xanthoudides' cremations at Moulia, the first testimony to burning of the dead in Late Minoan times. This tomb also contained a large potter's wheel whose form belongs to an earlier epoch.

Dr. Yiamalakis has added a variety of vases, some early Minoan stone vessels from a tomb in the Mesarà, a gold jar from Mália and some notable sealstones to his private collection in Herakleion. But the finest of his recent acquisitions are archaic bronze objects, mainly from Axós. These include an undecorated mitra with a dedicatory inscription, and a fragment of another of the sixth century with a drawing of a Nike holding an olive twig, a Daedalic bronze group of a woman riding sideways on a lion and holding its tail in her hand, a griffin protome from a bronze cauldron, and fragments of another cauldron with ring-handles on which are seated birds. The owner intends to bring out an illustrated catalogue of his collection. K. D. Kalokyres has published the first part of a history of Rethymna.<sup>42</sup> New issues of the *Κρητικά Χρονικά* contain Alexiou's publication of a group of Protogeometric vases with a remarkable clay model of a shrine in the Yiamalakis Collection, articles by M. Hatzidakis on El Greco and Cretan painting and E. Platakis on Cretan earthquakes, and N. Platon's account of his recent discoveries (including interesting figurines) at an M.M. I hill-top shrine at Mazà in the north of Pediáda, supplemented by a study of Minoan hill-top sanctuaries.

*The British School at Athens.*

J. M. Cook

<sup>1</sup> I am obliged to Prof. Orlandos and Dr. Papademetriou, H. Gallet de Santerre and J. L. Caskey for the provision of reports used in this account, and to those colleagues who have kindly furnished me with individual notices of their excavations and discoveries. The drawing Fig. 1 is by A. Papaioannopoulos of the National Museum staff.

<sup>2</sup> The chariot comes into the story in the *Cypria*, which may be the source of this painting.

<sup>3</sup> De Ridder 50. This important statuette is to be re-interpreted in a forthcoming issue of the *AE*.

<sup>4</sup> *PAE* 1950, 41 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the previous discovery in this area of a marble base for a bronze statue in honour of Livia Boulaia (*Hesperia* VI, 464).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Hesperia* VI, 354.

<sup>7</sup> *Hesperia* V, 21 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Hesperia* XIX, 325 f.

<sup>9</sup> *Hesperia Suppl.* VIII, 373 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Hesperia* XX, 57.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Hesperia* VI, 90 ff.

<sup>12</sup> The only previously discovered ostrakon of Pericles *Hesperia* X, 2 f., fig. 2.

<sup>13</sup> *AE* 1950-51, 1 ff., where illuminating plans and restorations are given.

<sup>14</sup> Georgia Koulikourdi and Sp. Alexiou *Αλφειά* (Athens, 1951).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *JHS* LXXI, 239 f., and the report *PAE* 1950, 203 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Two large chamber tombs were discovered by Tsountas, and the archaic inscription *Hesperia* 1946, 115 also came to light here.

<sup>17</sup> Like that of Atreus, *BSA* XXV, Pl. 56.

<sup>18</sup> N. Papakhatzis *Μυκηναϊκὰ καὶ Τίρυνθα* (Athens, 1951).

<sup>19</sup> *PAE* 1950, 201, fig. 11.

<sup>20</sup> The mutules have three rows of drops, not two (as reported *AA* 1940, 236).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. the plan *BCH* LXXV, 130, fig. 22.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *BCH* LXXV, 138 f.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *BCH* LXXV, 141 f.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Stählin, *Das hell. Thessalien*, 181.

<sup>25</sup> I am indebted to the epimeletes, S. Dakaris, for the notices of new discoveries.

<sup>26</sup> *AE* 1950-51, 40 f.

<sup>27</sup> *AE* 1950-51, 38 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *AM* LVII, Beil. 20, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10.

<sup>29</sup> *BSA* XXVIII, 158 ff., Heurtley, *Prehistoric Macedonia*, 99 ff.

<sup>30</sup> *AE* 1950-51, 44 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. the notice *JHS* LXX, 5 f. and the report in *PAE* 1949.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *PAE* 1949, 148 f.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *ib.* 157, fig. 14.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. that discovered in 1914, Oikonomos *De profusionum receptaculis* 5, fig. 1.

<sup>35</sup> G. P. Evthymiou, *Ἀρχαῖον Θρακ. Θεσσυρού XVI* (1951), 113 ff.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *BCH* LXIII, 319, and LXXI-LXXII, 419.

<sup>37</sup> *JHS* LXXI, 250, fig. 10.

<sup>38</sup> Ρόδος, *Ἱστορία καὶ Περιήγησις* (Athens, 1951).

<sup>39</sup> Dr. Platon has prepared a special report on the year's work in Crete, on which he has allowed me to draw in advance of its publication in the *Κρητικά Χρονικά*.

<sup>40</sup> I am indebted to Prof. Marinatos for this report.

<sup>41</sup> *Κρητικά Χρονικά* V (1951), 275 ff.

<sup>42</sup> *Ἡ Ἀρχαία Πάριος* (Candia, 1950).



## ARCHAEOLOGY IN CYPRUS, 1951

At the *Sotira* Neolithic settlement P. Dikaio<sup>1</sup>, working for the Curium Expedition, has followed up his trial of 1947<sup>2</sup> with the clearance of the greater part of the hill-top. A tightly-packed group of house foundations of light construction was laid bare. In form they ranged from circular to rectangular with rounded angles (Fig. 1); the upper parts of the walls were evidently of mud brick and the roofs of the rectangular houses probably flat. The topmost floors overlay a demolition layer which sealed well-preserved hearths, post-holes, and other features. These lower floors yielded an unusually rich series of implements, of flint, stone and bone, as well as bowls and jugs of the combed ware characteristic of this site.

New Neolithic-Chalcolithic sites have been noted by G. Eliades in the neighbourhood of Paphos, notably a large one of the *Erími* culture at *Kissónerga*. A site of the *Khírokítia* stage has been located near the monastery of Apostolos Andreas, not far from the point of the Karpas peninsula; and one of the *Sotira* period at *Kouphóvounos* near Kandou by J. S. Last.



FIG. 1.—SOTIRA. THE NEOLITHIC SETTLEMENT.

A new burial group accidentally located in the Early Cypriot I cemetery at *Philia*<sup>3</sup> has been recovered for the Cyprus Museum. It contains a complete bowl of a black-slip-combed ware reported by Prof. Goldman from the Early Bronze Age layers at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus. The chronology of early cultures in Cyprus down to the Early Bronze Age is discussed by P. Dikaio in the forthcoming report on his excavations at *Khírokítia*.

Much attention continued to be devoted to the Late Cypriot period. S. Weinberg, taking up the late J. F. Daniel's work on the *Bambóula* settlement, for the Curium Expedition, completed the study of the architectural remains and prepared new plans. Publication must await re-examination of the stratified material.

At the *Pigádhēs* sanctuary site near Myrtou the Ashmolean Museum—Sydney University Expedition, directed by Miss J. du Plat Taylor, rounded off its work with a very successful second season. Excavation below the courtyard floor showed that the first use of the site goes back to the Middle Bronze Age, ca 1700 B.C. Remains of walls and floors in the second level bear witness to the erection of an important building ca 1500 B.C. To the alterations and extensions which followed belong a series of four rooms with good plaster floors under the courtyard and a long line of store-rooms added to the east. One of these yielded a fourteenth-century Mycenaean rhyton, three bronze tripods, and two bronze ring-stands. One of the latter has a hunting scene in relief and the other a pierced spiral design and four incised characters of the Cypro-Mycenaean script. In



an adjacent room were a jug inscribed with four more characters of the same script and several offering stands. The disposal of all this ritual furniture is associated with the final rearrangement of the sanctuary in the course of the thirteenth century, when the courtyard was laid out and within it was erected the altar of large ashlar blocks found in 1950. Simultaneously the Expedition excavated a number of tombs in the Middle and Late Bronze Age cemetery at *Stephánia* west of Myrtou. While a well close to the *Pigádhēs* excavations was being deepened another Mycenaean rhyton was found by villagers (Fig. 2). It has been purchased for the Cyprus Museum.

At the *Enkomi* town site there were no further excavations by the French component of the joint expedition, but Dr. C. F. A. Schaeffer completed a report on the work of the French Mission up to date which will be published shortly. P. Dikaïos resumed work for the Department of Antiquities in the area immediately west of the sanctuary where the bronze god was previously found.<sup>4</sup> Here too there were in most rooms five levels, the earliest containing Mycenaean IIIC: 1 and contemporary local wares. Below the original floors earlier remains were found dating back



FIG. 2.—MYCENAEAN RHYTON FROM *PIGADHES*. (Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$ .)

to the L.C. II and L.C. I periods and resting on the rock. Along the north wall of the town he cleared an area between the wall and the first east-west street inside it, but to the topmost (eleventh-century) floors only, so that no new light has yet been thrown on the date of the wall. Outside the wall and attached to it, the foundation course of a great tower measuring 20 m. by 16.5 m. was cleared. Constructed mainly in bossed blocks, it is of much more finished workmanship than the curtain walls on either side, which have two faces of boulders and a filling of rubble. The Cyprus Museum has acquired a group of L.C. II gold boat-shaped earrings and two gold frontlets with stamped patterns, believed to come from the cemetery at *Dhénia* west of Nicosia.

Accidental discoveries have added two useful Early Iron Age tomb groups, from *Philiá* and the *Vathyrkákas* cemetery at *Karavás*, to the series in the Cyprus Museum. Somewhat later is a large group from a built tomb found during building operations on the southern outskirts of *Nicosia* close to the old Greek cemetery. Within the town, foundation excavations for public baths under construction beside the old Municipality hit several tombs of a known Iron Age cemetery, the excavation of which was carried out by the Antiquities Department. One yielded a complete sword with traces of the wooden hilt preserved, another a large free-field jug, much defaced but with traces of a hunting scene (?) in the bichrome IV style. On the dating of this colourful figured



pottery some light is thrown by the other vases from these tombs, for none of the known examples have come from properly excavated tomb-groups. Important on the same account is a tomb-group accidentally found at *Arnadhi* in the Mesaoria, which contained a free-field jug with a black and red bull sniffing a lotus flower, perfectly preserved (Fig. 4). The later phase of the same style in which the decoration tends to form a carpet-like pattern over the whole vessel (bichrome V) is represented in a large amphora purchased for the Cyprus Museum. It has two figured friezes, on the neck and shoulder, each formed by repeating a single motif: a pair of female figures confronted on either side of a complex lotus composition. Among other archaic acquisitions of the Museum is a faience figure-vase of Naucratic type from *Marium*, which has produced other 'Naucratic' material.<sup>5</sup> It is in the form of two monkeys seated back to back.

Among material found during building operations in Limassol is a large Iron Age tomb-group from the *Bamboûla* locality. This with other recent finds from the district is housed in the new local museum in Limassol Castle, which was opened during the year.

The excavations on the site of Palaepaphos at *Kouklia* started in the summer of 1950 by T. B. Mitford and J. H. Iliffe<sup>6</sup> were resumed in 1951 under the joint sponsorship of St. Andrews University and the Liverpool Museums. Opening up in the area west of that cleared in 1887 a substantial building with four periods of Roman construction and a number of mosaic floors was laid bare. Some sections of mosaic were raised and where excavation preceded to lower levels the building was found to rest on earlier foundation walls, equally extensive and belonging probably to the Late Bronze Age. On the Marcello hill overlooking the village (site A) further investigation of the puzzling mound of rubble yielded additional sculpture and architectural debris of archaic date, including a male head of fine quality (Fig. 3). Beneath the mound the excavators cleared a section of the deep ditch fronting the fortification wall previously found. Under the wall a series of tunnels came to light, some of which seem to penetrate into the mound. This, the excavators suggest, may have been constructed as a siege-mound in 498 B.C. when, according to Herodotus (V. 115), all the cities of Cyprus were invested by the Persians. The tunnels would then bear witness to Paphian attempts to destroy it. Immediately west of the mound a test trench disclosed a wall of drafted and bossed blocks backed by a foundation of mud-brick extending the whole 15 m. of the trench. The pottery overlying these remains was mainly archaic, but the building to which they belong may well be earlier and the excavators, who will resume its excavation in 1952, suggest it may be a bastion flanking one of the city gates. They have yet to find the source from which came the statuary and the architectural pieces found in the adjoining mound. Some Chalcolithic burials containing pottery of Erimi type and several productive Iron Age tombs in the neighbourhood of Kouklia were also excavated.

The Kouklia Expedition has also made a number of soundings on the site of Nea Paphos, the modern *Kato Paphos*. Directed to the area near the harbour round the *Sarânda Kolônnes* hill, they struck no remains earlier than Hellenistic or later than Roman, and yielded some fragmentary sculpture. Further inland, under the direction of G. Eliades, an interesting group of rock-cut chambers has been cleared, locally regarded as the catacomb of St. Lambrianos. Chance finds from the Paphos area acquired by the local museum include a small Hellenistic amphora inscribed in red paint ΠΙΤΙΟΥ ΝΑΥΠΗΓΟΥ, reminder of an industry for which Cyprus was once renowned, a statue-base with an unrecorded Greek inscription of the Roman period and a ringstone engraved with a representation of the Paphian temple of Aphrodite.

A minor sanctuary has been located near *Pérgamos* by chance finds of stone figure sculpture, archaic and later. The contents of some Hellenistic tombs found during road works at *Yendgra*, including one coin, have reached the Cyprus Museum, unfortunately somewhat disordered. The erection of poles for the Central Electrification Scheme across the *Vikles* site near Dhekelia, led to the discovery of a large Hellenistic stone amphora, now in the Larnaca Museum, inscribed ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ | ΚΕΡΑΙΑΘΙ | ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ | ΜΕΝΩΝΟΣ | ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ. In the Cyprus Museum Miss A. Wilson has completed her examination of the Ptolemaic coins, both silver and bronze.

A trench cut up the slope of *Kaphîzi* hill near Nicosia, under the direction of P. Dikaïos, yielded a good harvest of inscribed and plain pottery from the derelict Nymph-shrine in a cave on the summit. The gaps filled in the known syllabic and alphabetical dedications, which T. B. Mitford is studying, and the growing repertory of well-dated Hellenistic pottery have demonstrated the usefulness of further systematic work on this site.

At Curium the excavations of the Pennsylvania University Museum expedition under Dr. B. H. Hill were limited to the Apollo sanctuary, of which plans have appeared in *Fasti Archaeologici* III (plans C-E). Further examination by G. McFadden of the South Building brought to light some walls of an earlier building, similar but smaller, which was probably destroyed in the earthquake of A.D. 76-77. More of the Roman Doric columns of its successor were re-erected. In the South-East building the four porticoes enclosing its open court were further examined. That to the north was found to front on the main approach to the sanctuary from the city two miles away to the east. A porch with two Doric columns covered the entrance from the street. Part of the back wall of the west portico, which had fallen forward, was re-erected, including two complete windows (Fig. 6). These windows had been converted into niches and the statue which stood in one of them



was recovered in the debris. It is a well-preserved, but indifferently proportioned limestone figure casting stones, probably representing some aspect of Apollo (Fig. 5). The building is tentatively dated to the period between the earthquake of A.D. 76-77 and the completion of the South Building in A.D. 101. J. S. Last, investigating the water supply systems of Curium, has cleared the remains



FIG. 3.—KOUKLIA. ARCHAIC HEAD.



FIG. 4.—BICHROME IV JUG FROM ARNADHI.



FIG. 5.—CURIUM. LIMESTONE APOLLO (?).



FIG. 6.—CURIUM. THE SOUTH-EAST BUILDING.

of an arched aqueduct which carried the main supply over the saddle which separates the acropolis from the higher ground to the west, whence the pipe line has been traced to a spring at *Sotira* some five miles away.

In *Kyrénia* investigations by the Department of Antiquities have thrown new light on the Byzantine castle, which Crusader and Venetian constructions largely replaced or obscured. A section of the external face of the South wall, including a postern and the greater part of one of the towers, has been exposed behind the Frankish curtain. The entrance is embellished by three



couchant lions in relief, of rather classical type, one above and one on either side. The tower, which is filled solid, is of the pentagonal form in which one face is formed by the curtain wall, here 5.5 m. thick. These features suggest that the construction of the castle may date back to the Arab wars of the seventh century, if not earlier. At *Famagusta* under the direction of Th. Mogabgab further excavations in the Ravelin have established that this outwork covering the main entrance through the Venetian fortifications was at one time separated from the latter by a continuous rock-cut ditch. Much of the subsidiary ditch encircling the Ravelin and cut in the floor of the main moat has also been cleared.

Additions to the medieval collections of the Cyprus Museum, for which an annex is being made ready in a fourteenth-century building nearby, include a small pricket candlestick of enamelled bronze of Limoges style, from the *Palouriotissa* suburb of Nicosia, and three coin hoards: one, from Larnaca, consisting of thirty-six Byzantine solidi ranging from Maurice Tiberius to Heraclius and the others of Lusignan silver and billon, evidently buried at the time of the Genoese invasion in 1373. Building operations in Nicosia yielded two small pit-groups of twelfth-century pottery, including Byzantine sgraffito ware, which is rare in Cyprus, a small Seljuk jug, and coins of Manuel I.

A. H. S. MEGAW

*Nicosia.*

<sup>1</sup> Thanks are due to all those named in this report for kindly supplying the information on which it is based.

<sup>2</sup> *Pennsylvania University Museum Bulletin*, XIII, pl. 3, 16 f.

<sup>3</sup> *ILN*, 2 March 1946, 244-5.

<sup>4</sup> *ILN*, 27 Aug. 1949, 316-17.

<sup>5</sup> *Antiquaries Journal* XXXI, 51 f.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *JHS* LXVI, 5 ff.



## NOTES

**Dedication to Men in Antalya.**—In *Hellenica* IX, 39–50, J. and L. Robert publish, with a full and admirable commentary, an interesting inscribed altar in the museum at Antalya. Their text and restoration of the main inscription is as follows.

- [P]όδων NE . . . . . ΕΩΕΟΥΤΑΙ  
ΔΡΟΣΤΟΥ Μηνός κλει-  
νας δύο σύν καταρτισμῶ  
4 και τραπέζας δύο και  
[ά]νακτιτήρια τέσσαρα  
[τά ἐν τῷ] πε[ρ]ιβόλῳ και  
. . . . . ἡν μέσην και  
8 [θ]υρίδα κανκαλωτήν  
τήν ἐποῦσα(ν) τῷ ταμί[ω]  
και κήπον σύν τῷ πεπ[η-]  
γμένῳ ξυλικῷ και θησαυ-  
12 ρόν . . . . .]ν και \* ἐξ ἰς ξυ-  
[λ. . . . .]ν και τοὺς βωμοὺς  
[. . . . .]ν και δ[ι]οῦ ὅφ' ἐν \* τ' ἐκ  
15 [τῶν ἰδίων ἀ]νέστηκεν.

I had been working independently on the stones in the Antalya museum, including the altar in question, and as my squeeze shows rather more letters than the editors print, it may perhaps be possible to advance the restoration a little further.

For lines 1–2 the editors propose, with some reserve, [P]όδων κ[ε]κρόρο[ς] (θεοῦ Πα. δροστοῦ Μηνός. At the end of line 1, after ΠΑ, I read on the stone and on the squeeze a rho: the characteristic curl of the loop, turned out at the end and disjoined from the upright, is unmistakable. There can, I think, be no doubt that the reading is παρ[ε]δρος τοῦ Μηνός. In front of this, the letter-group ΕΩΕΟΥΤΑΙ, as the editors observe, unmanageable; but the smallest possible change will give a familiar name, ΕΩΕΟΥΤΑΙ. I accordingly read [P]όδων Νέων[ος] Σώ(σ)ου παρ[ε]δρος τοῦ Μηνός. It is perhaps worth noticing that in the parallel texts from the region south of the lake of Burdur by which the editors (pp. 40–1) have brilliantly shown the provenance of the altar,<sup>1</sup> we find both names, Neon and Sosos, and also omission of the article τοῦ before the grandfather's name.<sup>2</sup>

Human παρ[ε]δροι of divinities are known from a number of inscriptions from Asia Minor or the adjacent islands. So at Hieria on Lesbos (*IG* XII, 2, 484 = *IGR* IV, 116), Βρῆσων Βρῆσων ἀρχιστρω . . . τῷ Διὶ τῷ Μανωλῷ παρ[ε]δρ[ον], and at Rhodiapolis in Lycia (*TAM* II, 3, 926), Ἀρτεμῖος γ' ὁ διὰ βίου παρ[ε]δρος τῶν θεῶν ('*mimus singulare*' Kalinka). At Miletus, in connection with the cult of Apollo Didymeus, there appears frequently a ταμίης ὁ παρ[ε]δρεύων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ: he is most often mentioned as performing, together with the προφῆταις, sacrifices, prayers and processions to Apollo (Milet III (Delphinion) nos. 36, 37, 143, 146, 150); he is also named in dating formulae, e.g. ταμίης ὁ παρ[ε]δρεύων τὴν πρώτην ἐξάμηνον, ἐφ' οὗ κτλ.; ἐταμίειεν καὶ π[α]ρήδρευεν τὴν πρώτην ἐξάμηνον (ibid. pp. 237–8). At Magnesia ad Maeandrum, on the occasion of the inauguration of the new temple of Artemis, it is decreed (*Inscr.* v. Magn. no. 100 = *Syll.* 695): γινίσθω δὲ καὶ γυναικῶν ἐξοδος εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ παρ[ε]δρευέτωσαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν ἐπιβάλλουσαν τιμὴν καὶ παρ[ε]δρεῖαν ποιοῦμεναι τῆς θεοῦ. These παρ[ε]δροι are not discussed in the recent article in *RE* (1949). I suppose them to be subordinate priests. The chief priests, like the archons, strategi, and other officials, had their 'assessors' or assistants; these are called, very naturally and for convenience, assessors of the deity. In *OGI* 185, βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαίου . . . τὸ προσκύνημα παρὰ τῇ Ἰσιδι τῇ κυρίῃ, ὁ ἔγραψεν Λυσίμαχος παρ[ε]δρος, Lysimachus has been thought to be either a judiciary official or a court dignitary: may he be simply the assistant priest of Isis?

On line 6 the editors observe (p. 45, n. 8), 'nous ne voyons pas d'autre restitution possible avant περιβόλῳ. Les mots σύν τῷ περιβόλῳ seraient sans doute trop courts et ne donneraient pas un sens acceptable.' There is room on the stone before περιβόλῳ for seven normal-sized letters, so that τὰ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ is also a trifle short. I had thought of restoring [σύν και τῷ] περιβόλῳ.<sup>3</sup> Whether this gives an acceptable meaning seems to depend upon what is understood by περιβόλος—a point not discussed by the editors. If it means the whole precinct, σύν is out of the question; but equally, in that case, τὰ ἐν

τῷ περιβόλῳ is a mere redundancy. I take it therefore to mean 'the enclosing wall', and visualise the four benches as forming a kind of alcove or exedra with a surrounding wall against which they were set, the whole presented by Rhodon.<sup>4</sup>

On line 13 the editors comment (p. 49, n. 9), 'Doit-on reconnaître encore le mot ξυλικόν? S'agirait-il d'un objet en bois, en rapport avec le tronc à offrandes? Il ne semble pas qu'on puisse s'arrêter à l'idée de l'achat de bois pour les sacrifices.' But the stone, the squeeze, and even the photograph in *Hellenica* Pl. VI, all show, at the beginning of the line, ΛΟΟ.<sup>5</sup> Rhodon has therefore presented six denaria for a ξυλοθήκη, a bin for storing the sacrificial firewood.

In line 14 my squeeze shows .ΟΥΤΑΙ . . . ΜΟΥ. The first *upsilon* is very indistinct; after it, *sigma* and *epsilon* are equally possible. The editors' restoration [και δμ]ού seems therefore (in spite of the *mu*) not to be possible.<sup>6</sup> τοὺς βωμοὺς [τ]οὺς . . . μου suggests nothing to me; the words must apparently be divided [τ]οῦ σ . . . μου or [τ]οῦ ε . . . μου. Among the restricted possibilities I see nothing more likely than [τ]οῦ ε[ργ]μοῦ. This word does not seem to occur except with the meaning 'prison'; but other words from the same root, notably ἔρκος, ἐρκώνη and of course the verb ἐργω, have commonly the simple notion of enclosure. Whether it would denote here the whole precinct or, like περιβόλος above, some kind of inner enclosure, I leave undecided; the restoration is of course far from certain.

ὅφ' ἐν \* τ' I take to be the total cost of the various presentations: 'altogether, in all, 300 den.'

The text, as I should be disposed to restore it, runs therefore as follows.

- [P]όδων Νέων[ος] Σώ(σ)ου, παρ[ε]-  
δρος τοῦ Μηνός, κλει-  
νας δύο σύν καταρτισμῶ  
και τραπέζας δύο και  
5 [ά]νακτιτήρια τέσσαρα  
[σύν και τῷ] πε[ρ]ιβόλῳ κα[ὶ]  
[. . . . .] τὴν μέσην κα[ὶ]  
[θ]υρίδα κανκαλωτήν  
τήν ἐποῦσα(ν) τῷ ταμί[ω]  
10 και κήπον σύν τῷ πεπ[η-]  
γμένῳ ξυλικῷ και θησαυ-  
ρῳ . . . . .]ον \* και \* ἐξ ἰς ξυ-  
λοθ[ή]κην και τοὺς βωμοὺς  
[τ]οῦ ε[ργ]μοῦ, ὅφ' ἐν \* τ' ἐκ  
15 [τῶν ἰδίων ἀ]νέστηκεν.

G. E. BEAN.

<sup>1</sup> The middle stroke of the *epsilon* is very short, little more than a dot, separate from the upright; but it appears to be a genuine stroke, not an accidental mark.

<sup>2</sup> Or [Σ]όλων or [Μ]όλων? I found it impossible to decide between *delta* and *lambda*.

<sup>3</sup> After NE I see the lower half of an Ϟ, followed by part of an upright stroke. These traces would, of course, suit νεωκ[ό]ρος equally well.

<sup>4</sup> The stone is in fact stated in the museum catalogue to have come from Burdur. This entry was apparently overlooked by the editors ('la provenance semble inconnue').

<sup>5</sup> In one of these texts Νέων Κόμωτος [τοῦ] Μόλου is proposed by the Roberts, 'sans certitude', for the editors' [Α]γχιμόλου. If it was the custom in this region to omit the article in this position, [Α]γχιμόλου is perhaps to be preferred.

<sup>6</sup> σύν κὲ τῷ would give seven letters exactly, but as και is eight times correctly spelt in the inscription, this is hardly attractive.

<sup>7</sup> [τὰ ἐν τῷ] περιβόλῳ is not inconsistent with this view, but would imply that the περιβόλος existed apart from Rhodon's gift. So in line 9 I understand that the *tameion* was not presented by him.

<sup>8</sup> Here and in line 14 the surface of the stone is gone, but the deepest parts of the letter-grooves remain visible. I see also part of an upright stroke before N.

<sup>9</sup> It seems also to consort oddly with ὅφ' ἐν: 'and also 300 den. in all' could only be said of a number of separate money-gifts. ὅφ' ἐν suggests rather a summing up of the total expenditure.

<sup>10</sup> θησαυ[ρ]όν, e.g. λίθινον edd. Or possibly θησαυ[ρ]οφυλάκιον.



**Note on Spectacle Fibulae and Horses.**—*Marmariani*.—In *JHS* LXX, 18 I attempted to show that there were Late Geometric elements in some of the vases from the tholos tombs, and that therefore the spectacle brooches found with them need not necessarily belong to the Early Iron Age. Since then I have had a demonstration from Mr. Maryon of the use of steel and bronze tools (see *AJA* LIII, 116), and it is now clear to me that the 'rocking' pattern on the bracelets from Marmariani (*BSA* XXXI, 34, nos. 9 and 10) must have been made with a steel tool, and cannot date from the beginning of the Iron Age, as Heurtley supposed. Since bronze is more difficult to work than gold, they are not likely to be earlier than the Elgin brooches, which themselves probably belong



FIG. 1.—Horse, said to be from CHAUCHITSA.  
(Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.)

to the second half of the eighth century. Tomb I at Marmariani contains both a spectacle brooch and one of the bracelets.

Heurtley's references to the rocking of paint-brushes are not relevant.

**Chauchitsa.**—The contents of a group of three tombs said to have been found at Chauchitsa and now in the Royal Scottish Museum at Edinburgh, provide an unexpected link between a spectacle brooch and a horse on a stand. The tombs contain the usual small Chauchitsa bronzes like those published by Casson (*BSA* XXVI), amulets, pendants, bronze beads, etc. One has a handsome spectacle brooch, another a bronze (?) horse on a frail stand, which the authorities kindly allow me to publish (Fig. 1). The photograph is theirs. It is obviously Greek and belongs to my class II to be dated about 700 B.C. The way the ears are pricked seems to indicate a Corinthian strain. Contrast Casson, *AJ* I 199 f., pl. VI.

SYLVIA BENTON.

**Three Vases from the Dutuit Collection (PLATE VIII).**—The Accademia dei Lincei in Rome (Palazzo Corsini) is in possession of a considerable quantity of old china, bronzes, terracottas, and other works of art bequeathed to it by Teresa Celli, widow of Dutuit, in the year 1912. I was unable to establish, on the strength of the archives, the Christian name of the donor's husband, but I have ascertained from the Register Office of the city of Rome that his name was Augusto. He can, then, be none other than the owner of the Collection Dutuit, bequeathed by him to the city of Paris in 1902, and now preserved at the Petit Palais. Among the few ancient works of art there are also fourteen small Greek vases: Proto-corinthian, Attic B.F. and R.F., South Italian and Gnathia ware. They do not present special interest except three small Attic R.F. vases which do not figure in Prof. Beazley's *Attic Red-figured Vase Painters* and which can be attributed to definite masters.<sup>1</sup>

The first of them is a lekythos (inv. no. 2478; height 18.5 cm.) by the Aischines Painter, as I suppose, representing a woman playing with a dog beside a Doric column. The vase is pieced together, but no fragment is missing except a small part of the foot. Reserved: the side of the foot, the base fillet running all round, the upper band with a meander

between lines carried out in front only, the shoulder decorated with a row of strokes and dots, and the neck. Relief contour for the lower edge of the chiton and for the index of the left hand. Brown for the vertical folds of the sleeve and of the chiton below the cloak and above the right foot; brown wash for the dog's hair and tail. The lower lid of the woman's eye is for the greater part effaced. The vase is reproduced in Minervini's *Mon. Barone*, pl. XII, 3. It can be best compared with the lekythos 536 of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford<sup>2</sup> or with the lekythos E 76 at Tübingen.<sup>3</sup> Date about 460–450.

The dog belongs undoubtedly to the Malta breed (*Μελιτοῖον κυνίδιον*) which enjoyed such popularity in antiquity, especially in Greece.<sup>4</sup> Small, with a rather broad forehead and a pointed muzzle, erect ears, long thick hair, and a bushy tail, he was the pet of the Greek family and so often appears on vases and reliefs.<sup>5</sup> The scene itself is a novelty. In fact, whereas in other instances a dog is greeting his master as on the amphora of Exekias in the Vatican (*FR*, pl. 132), or is playing with him as on the Argonaut amphora from Ruvo (*Mon. Inst.*, III, 49) or on an Apulian crater (Tischbein, II, pl. 29), here he is 'begging' before his mistress, eager to snap at the dainty bit which she is holding teasingly to him.

The next lekythos (inv. no. 2756; height 15 cm.), dating from about 450, is a work of the Karlsruhe Painter. It represents a woman standing between a chair and a basket and juggling with three balls. Reserved: the upper part of the foot, the base fillet running all round, the upper band decorated with a meander between lines carried out in front only, the shoulder with two rows of strokes, and the neck (broken off together with the handle). Traces of preliminary sketch. Brown for the folds of the chiton below the cloak and for the vertical strokes on the seat. The right hand has almost entirely disappeared owing to the surface being damaged. The vase is a replica of two lekythoi by the same master, in New York<sup>6</sup> and in Oxford,<sup>7</sup> but for the chiton and the cloak which the woman wears on our lekythos, whereas on the two other vases she wears only a loose chiton with kolpos. The same garment as on our lekythos appears on another lekythos of the Karlsruhe Painter in Oxford.<sup>8</sup>

The last vase, a round-mouthed oinochoe (inv. no. 2772; height together with the handle 14 cm.) by the Shuvalov Painter, is the most carefully executed of all and is perfectly preserved. It represents a flying Eros who brings a box to a woman seated on a chair and holding an alabastron in her left hand. Egg-pattern below and above the scene, carried out in front only. Beautiful glossy varnish of violet hue. Preliminary sketch. Contour in relief for the right arms and faces of the figures, the alabastron, and parts of the chair. Date about 430.

The shape of the vase and the subject are familiar to us from the works both of the Washing Painter and the Shuvalov Painter, but the drawing points decidedly to the latter. For the figure of Eros I find the closest parallel on a small hydria from the Shuvalov Collection,<sup>9</sup> where we see an Eros flying towards a standing woman with an alabastron in her right hand. As for his head, it is instructive to compare it, e.g. with the oinochoai Berlin 2414<sup>10</sup> and 2417<sup>11</sup> or Louvre G 437<sup>12</sup>. The woman has her exact counterpart on the hydria E 218, for example, of the British Museum.<sup>13</sup>

KAZIMIERZ BULAS.

<sup>1</sup> I express my heartfelt thanks to the Presidency of the Accademia dei Lincei for the permission to publish the vases as well as to Prof. Beazley, who has kindly read my text. He agrees with two of my attributions, but does not feel sure of the Aischines Painter.

<sup>2</sup> *JHS* XXV, pl. II, 2; *CV*, pl. 38, 9; Beazley, *ARV*, p. 498, 138.

<sup>3</sup> Watzinger, *Griech. Vasen in Tübingen*, pl. 25 and p. 44; Beazley, p. 496, 57.

<sup>4</sup> Keller, *Die ant. Tierwelt*, I, pp. 92 ff.; *DS* s.v. canis, p. 883; *RE* s.v. Hund, 2552.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. *Ann. d. Inst.*, 1852, pl. T and 1879, pl. D.—*AZ*, 1869, pl. 17.—Millingen, *Vases de Coghil*, pl. 44 (*Brit. Mus. F 101*).—Gerhard, *A.V.*, pl. 278/9.—Brussels R 350, *CV* III 1 c, pl. 4, 4.—Hartwig, pl. XXVI. Cf. also the stele of Alxenor at Athens and other stelai.

<sup>6</sup> Formerly Gallatin Collection: *CV*, pl. 26, 9; Beazley, p. 510, 56.

<sup>7</sup> *CV*, pl. 38, 2; Beazley, p. 510, 55.

<sup>8</sup> *CV*, pl. 38, 3; Beazley, p. 510, 42.

<sup>9</sup> *RM*, 42, 1927, p. 233; Beazley, pl. 755, 48.

<sup>10</sup> *FR* III, p. 317; Beazley, p. 754, 29.

<sup>11</sup> *AZ* 1879, pl. 5, 1; Beazley, p. 754, 23.

<sup>12</sup> *CV* III 1 d, pl. 37, 6; Beazley, p. 755, 32.

<sup>13</sup> *CV* III 1 c, pl. 90, 1; E. Zevi, *Mem. Linc.* VI, 1937, pl. II, 1; Beazley, p. 755, 44.



**Professor Page's Simonidea: A Note.**—In the last volume of this *Journal* (LXXI, 1951, 133–140) Professor D. L. Page disagreed on some points with an article of mine (*CQ* XXIX, 1935, 85–95) on the text and metre of Simonides fr. 13 Diehl (the 'Danae' fragment). For most of his disagreements he made out what I may be allowed to call a convincing case, but on some points his arguments fall short of conviction, and one of these seems to call for immediate comment.

In my article (*loc. cit.* 88) I accepted Nietzsche's view that the reading of the later MSS. (M, V), *πρόσωπον καλόν*, must be construed as a vocative and that this is 'not Greek'; Professor Page (p. 136) comments, 'That is a hard saying; an overstatement, perhaps, of the suspicion aroused by the suddenness and semi-detachedness of this concluding vocative'. He might perhaps have considered the date of my article and have allowed something for the brisk intolerance of youth; but before I agreed with Nietzsche I had made a careful, and altogether unsuccessful, search for parallels to this use of *πρόσωπον*. I have not found one since, and it does not seem that Professor Page can have been more fortunate, since a single apposite example would obviously have established his case against Nietzsche and me on this point far more conclusively than does his merely grammatical explanation

of Hades. Perseus appears, like Meleager, out of darkness; and his face becomes visible from under the *χλαμύς* he is wrapped in, as Orestes's legs appear from under his long *χιτών*. The case for *πρόσωπον καλόν* *προφαίνων* may not be overwhelming, but it is stronger than Professor Page has admitted, and much stronger than that for *πρόσωπον καλόν* alone.

J. A. DAVISON.

**A Red-figure Vase Found in Dalmatia.**—In *JHS* 1949, 122, Sir John Beazley refers to the column-krater fragments found at Nona in Dalmatia, formerly in the University of Vienna (*ARV*, p. 392). These were seen and sketched in Split Museum by R. L. Beaumont in 1936, and are apparently referred to by him in *JHS* 1936, 194 and n. 248.

T. J. D.

**Two Oriental Bronzes. A Correction.**—Our illustration (Fig. 1) shows two bronze rein or belt guides which belong to the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore.<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt, I believe, that the one at the left is the one published by Richard W. Barnett in *JHS* LXVIII (1948), 12 and n. 68, and pl. V, a. Mr. Barnett believed the piece to have been in

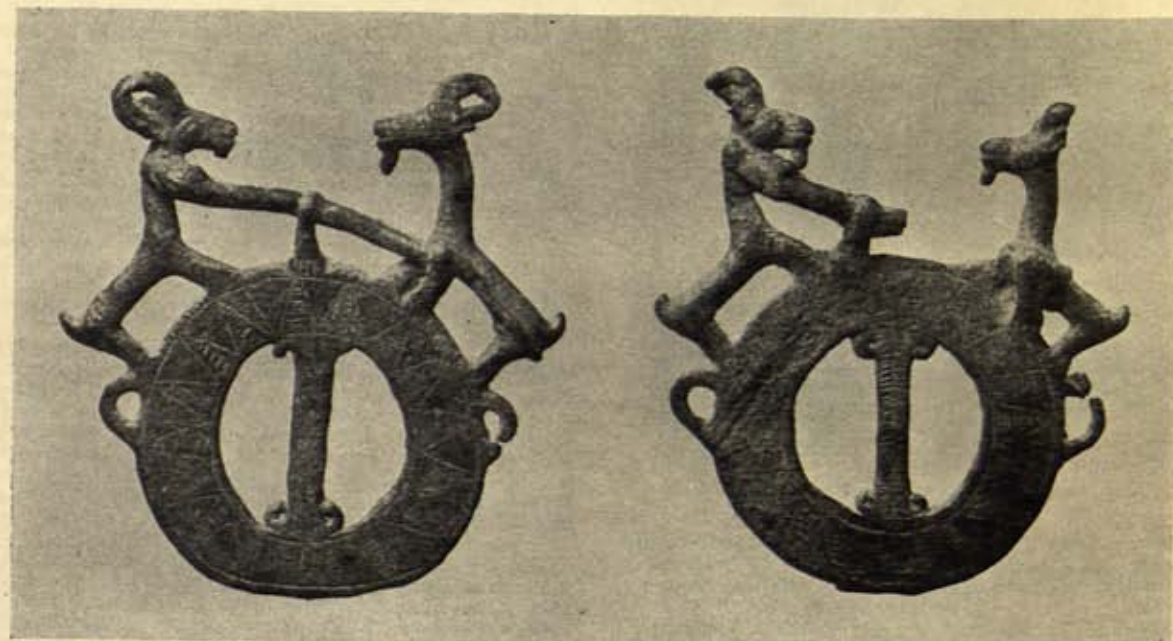


FIG. 1.—TWO ORIENTAL BRONZES.

of *πρόσωπον καλόν* as 'a vocative in apposition . . . to the whole of the preceding picture'.

But this is not the whole story. The oldest MS. (P) has not *πρόσωπον καλόν* but *πρόσωπον καλόν πρόσωπον*, and various emendations have been proposed to account for this reading. Of these, I did not think Nietzsche's *προσέχων καλόν πρόσωπον* probable enough to be worth mentioning; I mentioned Bergk's *πρόσωπον κλιθέν προσώπῳ*, but only to reject it (perhaps too summarily) as an anachronism; and I accepted Ahrens' *πρόσωπον καλόν προφαίνων*, which seemed to me not only to make excellent sense (I referred to *Soph. El.* 753 *οὐκ ἔστι προφαίνων* and to *Pind. Nem.* v. 17 *φαίνοισα πρόσωπον*) and to offer some ground for explaining the dittography in P but also to involve the least possible change in an easily explicable metrical pattern. Professor Page's answer is to disregard the metrical problem set by P's recurrent *πρόσωπον*, treat the palaeographical difficulty as a mere piece of scribal carelessness requiring no particular explanation, and make the following comment on the conjectures of Ahrens and Nietzsche: 'in both, the verbs—especially the prepositions—are unsuitable; they, if you like, are "not Greek"'. This does not seem at all too hard on Nietzsche, but I feel that it is most unfair to Ahrens (and hence to me), since the meaning 'to bring to light from under (clothes)' which this conjecture requires us to give to *προφαίνειν* is that demanded in *Soph. El.* 753, where the chariot-wrecked Orestes displays his legs to heaven (from under the charioteer's long *chiton*). It may not be entirely irrelevant to add that Bacchylides (5.77) uses *προφάνη* of the appearance to Heracles of Meleager's soul through the gloom

of the museum in Berlin, where, it seems, he purchased the photograph. However, that museum was well supplied with photographs of objects which had passed through the market only to end in other museums or in private collections.

The two bronzes, so very similar one to another, were purchased by Mr. Henry Walters from a well-known dealer who made a practice of presenting him annually with a scrapbook of photographs of the year's purchases. Unfortunately the book which contains these bronzes is undated; but since the series runs from 1911 through 1914, it is a reasonable assumption that this particular annual scrapbook belonged just before or after those years, say 1910 or 1915. Other items in the book are said variously to have been excavated in 1909 and to have been obtained at sales as early as 1898; therefore, a date before 1911 is more probable than one after 1914. To Mr. Walters the place of discovery was stated to have been Bagdad, not Cappadocia.

To one viewing the two pieces together, the motive is clear. I do not think that the origin of the Chimaera is recognisable here, for each group consists of three distinct animals: a goat attacked by a monster, the monster itself with snaky head, long neck, two pairs of legs with each pair combined into a single member, a long tail, and, finally, a second goat to whom the monster anchors himself by his tail. In one case the monster's tail is hooked behind the goat; in the other, it winds about his belly. In neither case does the monster protrude from the body of the goat.

The importance of this pair of Oriental bronzes for the study of the origins of early Greek art is obvious. The similarity



in design between them and the ring handles of certain Geometric bronzes is one point of departure. The hatched triangle pattern is also important. As for mythology, though there are no Chimæras here, we may some day see a connexion with things Greek.

In their animal style these bronzes have always suggested Luristan bronzes to me. For that very reason I think it important to emphasise the fact that they were on the market long before the Luristan bronzes were first discovered. Finally, their known presence before the First World War is proof, if proof is necessary, that they are genuine ancient items, not forgeries such as conceivably could have been created after the Luristan bronzes had become famous.

DOROTHY KENT HILL.

The Walters Art Gallery,  
Baltimore, Maryland, U.S.A.

<sup>1</sup> Walters Art Gallery, 54.113 (at left) and 54.114 (damaged, at right). Diameter of circular parts, 0.07 m. Greatest height, 0.103 m. Cast bronze of rather yellowish fabric with green patina and traces of red, and with heavy muddy deposit. The backs of the buckle parts are quite plain, the decoration of the fronts being engraved by hand after the casting. The animals are finished equally well on both sides.

**Demeter and Dionysos.**—In *JHS* LXIX, 18–24, Mrs. A. D. Ure discusses some interesting vases supposedly of Mykalessian make. I am quite incompetent to criticise her remarks concerning their provenance and date, and wish merely to point out that her interpretation of one of them as alluding to Boiotian ritual is highly doubtful.

The vase in question is described on pp. 19–20. It is a pyxis, decorated with a human or divine figure shown wearing what looks like a fawn-skin and holding in the right hand something which may well be a *πρόον*, while in the left there is, according to Mrs. Ure, who of course has examined the object itself, a faint but discernible fork; I cannot find it on her reproduction. The figure sits on a small elevation which the artist has covered with round spots, quite possibly intending it for a heap of threshed corn. This is flanked, on the spectator's left, by a basket of fruit, on his right by a small pig. The figure's head is adorned with horns, apparently those of a goat and growing from, not merely attached to, the crown.

Mrs. Ure contends (p. 19) that the figure is presumably Iakchos, who is Dionysos. But Iakchos, who is merely a projection from the Eleusinian ritual *κρυπτοῦ δὲ λαχέ*, whatever that may have meant, is not equated with Dionysos (via his title Bakchos) save in Attic tradition, which I see no reason to assume for Boiotia in 'the third quarter of the (fifth) century'. Mrs. Ure's date (p. 21) for the vase. The figure is, in fact, rather puzzling, if we try to relate it to any known cult. The Halos is quite out of the question. Even if it were attested <sup>1</sup> for Boiotia, it is a midwinter feast, having nothing whatever to do with the threshing or winnowing of grain, and the statement that Dionysos had some part in it is doubtful and rests on the word of late authorities who blunder in other respects. In general, Dionysos and Demeter are rarely associated in cult, if we omit the Attic identification of Dionysos with Iakchos; it is noteworthy, for instance, that they only once (at Lerna) have mysteries in common.<sup>2</sup>

The fact that Pindar (*Isth.* 7, 3) calls Dionysos the *πάρεργος* of the goddess proves nothing for cult, as we may see if we look at other passages containing the same word, notably *Ol.* 8, 21, where Themis is the *πάρεργος* of Zeus Xenios and yet in the same breath *δοῦναι*, putting her back to the status of an abstract noun, not a figure of cult; Pindar is merely saying in poetical language that in Aigina justice, which is of God, is practised towards strangers. So, when he thus speaks of Dionysos, we need suppose no more than that he associates the givers of the two great gifts, corn and wine, much as Euripides later does,<sup>3</sup> unless and until we have something like evidence of a real association in local worship of the two deities.<sup>4</sup>

Assuming, then, as we may reasonably do, that the figure on the vase is Dionysos, or at least a Dionysiac daimon of some kind, I prefer to take it that the artist is saying in his technique what Pindar and Euripides say in theirs, and that there is no light thrown by the vase on any actual Boiotian ceremony; or if there is, then we do not know what the ceremony was.

H. J. ROSE.

<sup>1</sup> Outside Attica, it is not known to have existed, the attempt to find it on Mykonos being a failure, see Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, p. 329. That there was such a festival somewhere in the Ionian world is of course perfectly possible, but not a thing to be assumed, especially outside it.

<sup>2</sup> See Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 60 sqq., Nilsson, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Nilsson, *Gesch. d. gr. Rel.*, ii, p. 377.

<sup>4</sup> Eur., *Bacch.*, 274 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> That there is none, Farnell, who supposes that Pindar alludes to something of the kind, admits in his note on *Isth.*, *loc. cit.*

**The God with the Winnowing-fan.**—Professor Rose is perfectly right in holding that there is no allusion to any Boeotian cult or ceremony in the pyxis figured on p. 21 of *JHS* LXIX. Vases of the fabric to which this pyxis belongs have for the last fifty years been regarded as Boeotian,<sup>1</sup> and it seemed not unreasonable to search for the meaning of the representations on them in Boeotian life, and in particular in the customs and cults of the district in which three of them are reputed to have been found. However, shortly after *Boeotian Halos* had been published, I saw in the museum at Corinth a number of sherds of this fabric which had been excavated in the Potters' Quarter there. They are to be published in a forthcoming volume of *Corinth* by Mrs. Stilwell, who tells me she is convinced that they are all Corinthian, and indeed the place of finding puts that beyond doubt. So all arguments based on the supposed Boeotian origin of the pyxis and its companion vases fall to the ground.

Not only is there now nothing to connect this young god with Mykalessos and its harvest celebrations, but he cannot be brought into relation with any Halos. It is a question whether this festival had to do with threshing or gardening, and because in Attica it was held in the month Poseideon Professor Rose is on the side of the gardeners. Being a tiro in these matters I cannot dispute his ruling.

We are left then with internal evidence only, on which to base our interpretation of the scene. The pyxis shows us a young god in the guise of Dionysos holding implements which, if my interpretation is right, are winnowing-fan and fork. Professor Rose suggests that by putting these implements into the hand of the god of wine the vase painter is representing the association of the givers of the two great gifts of corn and wine. I venture to think that it is most unlikely that a vase painter, if he wished to indicate such an association, would do it in this way. If a painter puts an attribute or implement into the hand of a god it is the attribute or implement of that god and not of another. So, while recanting in the matter of the Halos and of all that has to do with Boeotia, I reaffirm my belief that we have here a god apparently indistinguishable from Dionysos, horned and clad in a skin, who used a winnowing-fan and therefore was concerned with corn, not wine. He must inevitably have been associated with Demeter, unofficially if not in cult, but he cannot in the art of this period be a hybrid, symbolising in a single person the association of the two givers of corn and wine. Rather I would see in him an agricultural deity with whose help men availed themselves of the gift of the great corn goddess.

A. D. URE.

<sup>1</sup> *AM* XXVI 1901, 143 ff.; British Museum *Cat. Vases* III, pl. 21; Pfuhl *MuZ* 715; Payne, *CV* Oxford II, p. 65 no. 32; Lane, *Greek Pottery*, p. 57, Plate 95(a).



## NOTICES OF BOOKS

**Chapters on Mediaeval and Renaissance Visitors to Greek Lands** (Gennadeion Monographs III). By J. M. PATON. Pp. xii + 212. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1951. Price not given.

The late Professor J. M. Paton, whose many services to learning included the editing of the American publication on the Erechtheum, was engaged for many years before his death in 1944 in collecting material for an extensive work on the medieval history and monuments of Athens. The contents of the present volume, edited with devoted care by his sister, Dr. Lucy A. Paton, and appropriately published as a 'Gennadeion Monograph', show that for his purpose the term medieval covered some twelve centuries, from the time of Justinian down to the visit of Stuart and Revett in the eighteenth century; and reveal, no less clearly, his complete mastery in his chosen field. What we have here is, however, a mere fragment which scarcely indicates what would have been the scale or plan of the work had the author lived to complete it.

As an introduction to the extremely valuable collection of excerpts from hitherto unknown, or almost inaccessible, sources to be found in Ch. II, the first chapter ('Turkish Athens') gives us a survey of the five centuries ending with the Venetian siege of 1687 and introduces us to a little-known visitor to the city, in about 1670. This was Father Robert of Dreux, almoner to the French Ambassador to the Porte, who lodged with his brethren in the Capuchin Convent recently established in and around the Monument of Lysicrates and eagerly explored the visible remains of antiquity. His identifications of what he saw follow the more ignorant of the traditions then current, such as the association of the Tower of the Winds with Socrates, the Stoa of Hadrian as the 'Palace of Themistocles', the Olympieum as the 'Palace of Theseus' (a slip for Hadrian?), and the Parthenon, which he was allowed to enter, as the 'Temple to the Unknown God'. These, or similar, fantasies abound in Ch. II, where we have extracts from sources (either MSS. or printed works, to the number of twenty-one), which are most carefully transcribed, and in some instances fully annotated. The earliest of these is of more than local interest, for it illustrates how little was known of Athens or its history in the west during the ninth century. It is taken from the material put together by Abbot Hilduin of St. Denis in support of his claim that Dionysius the Areopagite was identical with the patron saint of his Abbey. To the extract from the *Passio S. Dionysii* (reprinted more than once, e.g. Migne, P.L. 106) are added supplementary documents found in MSS. in the Philipps Library and the Bibl. Nat., but none of these reveal a personal acquaintance with the Athenian monuments.

The fullest account of Athens by a traveller previous to the seventeenth century is that of Niccolò da Martoni, who paid two very brief visits to the city early in 1395, on his way back from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (pp. 30-6; cf. W. Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, pp. 140 f.). His narrative forms an interesting contrast with that of Giriacco d'Ancona, who followed him forty years later (and again in 1444), as is pointed out in Appendix I. In their accounts of the Parthenon 'it is characteristic of the two men that while Niccolò never mentions the temple or the sculptures Ciriaco totally ignores the church and interior and thinks only of the work of Phidias'. What, one wonders, is the origin of Niccolò's statement that the west doors of the church were brought from Troy 'quando civitas Troye fuit destructa'?

Among the less-known travellers of the seventeenth century is Nicolas du Loir, who visited Athens on his way back from Constantinople in 1641. His account (reprinted here from *Les voyages du Sieur du Loir contenus en plusieurs lettres écrites du Levant*, Paris, 1654) shows that he was better educated and more critical than most of the earlier visitors to the city: he cites Pausanias, and describes the Theseum and the Tower of the Winds with considerable accuracy, though identifying neither correctly; and rejects the story that the Monument of Lysicrates was the 'Study of Demosthenes'. But he mistakes the Stoa of Hadrian for the Olympieum and has no satisfactory name for the actual remains of the latter.

In Ch. IV, which occupies more than one-third of the whole book, we have a full-length account of the career of Rinaldo de La Rue, who served with the invading Venetian forces in 1687. His description of Athens (as is suggested, p. 126) may

owe more than a little to the help of Giraud, who was the English consul at the time, and exists in two versions with slight differences in arrangement and details, reprinted here (with an English summary, pp. 142-54). The adventurous life of this gifted young man, who served as a *Bombista*, very possibly with the battery which landed the fatal shell on the Parthenon, and was fatally wounded in the attack on Negroponte in the following year, has been reconstructed with great industry from an impressive variety of documents in Florentine and Venetian archives. As, however, this account largely concerns his employment in the service of Marguerite Louise d'Orléans, who was living in France apart from her husband, Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany, and his adventures—including an enforced sojourn in Martinique (1680-82) following his undeserved dismissal from her service—it is of no direct interest for Hellenists. Nevertheless, they will find in this volume a great deal of interesting material, admirably indexed and carefully printed, and will surely regret that the author did not live to complete his task.

A. M. WOODWARD.

**The Classical Tradition.** By GILBERT HIGHET. Pp. xxxviii + 763. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949. 42s.

Professor Highet has conceived, planned, and wrought out this book on a grand scale. To give 'an outline of the chief ways in which Greek and Latin influence has moulded the literatures of Western Europe and America'—*res est immensi operis*; and it has been an immense task for one author, even with a Livian industry and enthusiasm for his theme, to pursue his journey over twelve centuries through the literatures of six great nations. But it was a task supremely well worth doing, and it has been well done. In this age of specialism one might have expected the covering of so wide a field to be distributed among half a dozen writers, and it is impossible to withhold a tribute of admiration for the single-handed achievement. For Highet has done more than give an outline sketch of his subject; much of the interest and attractiveness of the book lies in the careful analysis and detailed discussion of the classical elements in many literary genres and periods—Anglo-Saxon poetry, Shakespeare's plays, Goethe's *Faust* (to mention only a few)—and in the author's own bold pronouncements on points of literary criticism. No reader will fail to recognise and appreciate the free play of a well-informed and critical mind over the whole range of Western European literature, even when he is stimulated, as he will be at times, into disagreement with the author's own personal judgments and predilections. Despite the length of his period there is a spacious air of leisure about Highet's writing, and he does not refuse to turn at times into some pleasant bypaths or to throw off some provocative observations on non-literary subjects. But he does not stray outside his main theme: 'Philosophy, art, education and other works of the Greco-Roman spirit have been', as he says in his final chapter (p. 543), 'mentioned only in so far as they contributed immediately to modern western literature'.

The book begins with a brief but thorough account of the extent to which Greco-Roman civilisation survived the shocks and ravages of the 'Dark Ages' to have its literary and mental heritage gradually rediscovered and revived from the twelfth century onwards. The following twenty-two chapters discuss the principal aspects of this story: Old English literature; French literature in the Middle Ages; Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Chaucer; the translations, the epic and dramatic poetry of the Renaissance; the writers of pastoral and romance, Rabelais and Montaigne; lyric poetry from the sixteenth century to the present day; tragedy, satire, and prose writing in the 'baroque' period of W. Europe; the revolutionary or 'romantic' era in France, the United States, England, Germany, and Italy; the conflicting trends of the nineteenth century summarised as 'Parnassus and Antichrist'; a review of nineteenth-century scholarship; a discussion of the 'symbolist' poets and of the 'reinterpretation of the myths' by psychologists and dramatists of modern times.

In this long and detailed discussion Highet shows a very wide acquaintance with the great classics of Western Europe and with the vast specialist literature that treats separate periods, phases, or aspects of the tradition. The range of the author's learning and his easy management of it are equally



admirable. A most valuable feature of the book is the series of detailed notes on each chapter assembled together at the end and covering more than one hundred and fifty pages. These are packed with a variety of information and should certainly fulfil the author's hope that with this aid readers may 'branch off and follow any particular channel which seems interesting'. Highet decided to relegate the text of all his quotations, other than those from English authors, to this corpus of notes and to translate into English all book-titles, to avoid the jostling of several languages on the same page. The narrative thus runs smoothly, and the page looks clean, but the vivid and immediate impact of the originals is lost, and it may be suggested that it would have been better to adopt the compromise of printing the actual Greek, Latin, French, etc., at the foot of the page.

Among the many literary problems treated, particularly illuminating are the discussions of the influence of Senecan tragedy in the sixteenth century, of Milton's epic diction, and of the reasons for the failure of English and French verse satire to progress from the successes achieved in the eighteenth century by close imitation of Horace and Juvenal. As a good example of Highet's shrewd handling of the bygone disputes of scholars in the light of the perennial problems of classical studies one may cite the ten pages (pp. 479-89) in which an appraisal of Matthew Arnold's controversy with Francis Newman on translating Homer leads on to a most interesting review and criticism of Homeric translations, and this in turn serves to illustrate the whole art of translation.

For many of Highet's readers the most stimulating and provocative chapter will be that on the scholarship of the period 1814-1914 (ch. 21). This century saw a vast increase in the garnered knowledge of ancient Greece and Rome, yet in the latter half of the century its distribution was less wide in society, and that familiarity with Greek and Latin poetry, philosophy, and history, which once was general in the educated classes, began to dwindle away and be replaced by other intellectual disciplines. For the rapid and intensive exploration of new fields of study in classical antiquity by the methods of scientific research and industrial technique, while enormously extending and deepening our knowledge of Greek and Roman civilisation, broke into fragments the old unity of classical knowledge. Thus 'the gap between the scholar and the public, which in the Renaissance and in the revolutionary era was bridged by constant interflow of teaching and questioning and . . . translation and emulation, has now widened to a gulf'. Highet reminds the scholar that he has a duty to society, both to know the truth and to make it known, to disseminate and interpret that classical tradition which has in the past repeatedly saved the world from attacks of materialism and barbarism.

Highet's style is easy and perspicuous; his language concise and vivid; his accuracy in statement of fact and textual references very high for so long and varied a book. Two mis-statements may be mentioned. Highet asserts (pp. 6, 13, and 557) that W. Europe suffered a total loss of contact with Greek literary tradition after the sixth century A.D. and ignores the evidence for a continuing Hellenism in Greek-speaking S. Italy and Sicily which directly influenced the scholarship of the Latin West long before the immigration of Byzantine scholars in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. On p. 9 Spengler is credited with a view of the missionary strategy of St. Paul which had been put forward much earlier by Sir W. Ramsay. An occasional colloquialism arrests the reader, as when Highet refers to 'Edward (*Night Thoughts*) Young'; the borrowing of the term 'baroque' from architecture is an annoying whim; and there is a puzzling remark about Casaubon's parents having to hide from the S.S. (who are presumably Catholic partisans hunting down Protestants). But these are mere trifles: one must end with a final expression of admiration. To sail a sloop alone across the Atlantic requires a stout heart, great self-reliance, and a profound knowledge of winds and currents. No less fortitude and knowledge of the currents of literary tradition are shown in this book, and Professor Highet never lacks confidence in his own judgment.

R. D. McLELLAN.

#### Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome.

By F. G. KENYON. 2nd ed. Pp. vii + 136, 8 pll. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951. 8s. 6d.

In reviewing for the first time in this *Journal* a book from a scholar who has occupied himself with papyri ever since he gave us the 'A9. PoA. in 1891, one can but subscribe to the general praise which the first edition was received, and add a few remarks on points of detail.

The first twenty pages, dealing with the use of books before

400 B.C., about which we know very little, will probably arouse most dissent. The author puts Homer not later than the ninth century, and is emphatic in favour of written transmission from the first. Of the transmission of lyric poetry we know nothing, but the Athenians of the fifth century would no doubt know it chiefly from schools and symposia—which may account for the absence of Sappho from the Old Comedy. Choral lyric is a problem—Aristophanes, with one famous exception, does not assume verbal knowledge of it in his audience—but the fourth-century Timotheus papyrus shows that it was early transmitted without music. (I should infer from *Pax* 775 ff., 797 ff., that Stesichorus' *Oresteia* was known by reading. Ion's 'Aeolus, apparently a popular 'hit', is mentioned, *ibid.* 835.) One could have wished for a word about the price of books and papyrus.

It is difficult to accept the view of *Ar. Ran.* 1114 put forward on p. 23—that between the original and the (exceptionally) repeated performance (*δὴ τὴν παράστασιν*) the audience had acquired copies of the play, and now sat with them in their hands, having 'now' (K.'s italics) seen the world in the course of their military service'.

P. 45. To write about the Dead Sea Scrolls is writing on sand: how many would now accept the dating of the *Isaiah* c. 100 B.C.?

P. 65. The combining of two or three books of the *Iliad* on one roll throws light on the (apparent) publication of the *Annals* of Ennius three books at a time. Pp. 67 ff. (Aids to the reader). Add the use of descriptive headlines (as in the A.V.) in the Didymus papyrus and the Herculanean Life of Socrates, and chapter-headings in technical works (e.g. a Leyden chemical papyrus). The Eusebian and Euthalian sections in the N.T., for harmonistic (and lectionary?) purposes are well known.

An important addition in this edition is the account of papyrus finds from 1922 to 1945, of which the most significant are fragments of seven new plays of Aeschylus (with one each of *Ag.* and *S.c.Th.*), against only one in 1922; and above all the anonymous gospel fragment published by Bell and Skeat, and the fragment of St. John, by C. H. Roberts, both in 1935, of the first half of the second century. Perhaps a word should have been said of their devastating effect on various widely held theories of N.T. critics. The Gyges tragedy appeared too late to be included.

W. B. SEDGWICK.

**Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur. Zweite, verbesserte Auflage. I: Von den Anfängen bis auf Alexander d. Gr. Pp. 148. II: Von Alexander d. Gr. bis zum Ausgang der Antike. Pp. 128.** By WILHELM NESTLE. (Sammlung Götschen, Band 70 and 557). Berlin: de Gruyter, 1950 (reprint) and 1945. DM. 2.40 each.

This is a Christ-Schmid *in nuce*. The periods covered by either volume are subdivided into two sections: namely Vol. I. into (a) from the beginnings to 480 B.C. and (b) thence to 323. Vol. II. treats (a) of the 'Hellenistic' period (ending 146 B.C.!) and (b) of the 'Roman' (down to A.D. 529; but some later writings are mentioned), with (c) a concluding chapter on the Christian literature. Within each section, every literary genus is treated separately, the poetical ones first; the main sections have general introductions. Modern scholarly literature is quoted only in the chapter on the 'Homeric question' (with a rigid disregard of contributions non-German); besides there are, here and there, a few odd references, sometimes to rather irrelevant (II.93) or antiquated (II.16) books.

The adopted arrangement need not cause much trouble in Vol. I, since the various types of literary utterance providentially emerged in succession and roughly in accordance with the scheme. In Vol. II it means, in combination with the strange delimitation of the 'Hellenistic' period, that Polybius fails to appear among the Hellenistic historians, but follows (73) straight upon the Christian sophists of Gaza (cent. VI) and incidentally long after his continuator Posidonius (58); while the latter, as well as Panaetius, must live under one narrow roof with Plotinus and Proclus. On the other hand, Dionysius Thrax, though more recent than Polybius and important chiefly through his influence upon Rome, figures in the 'Hellenistic' chapter (36). What coherence and historical appreciation the scheme could permit in Vol. I is marred by chronological inconsistencies: Sophron (64), Pherecydes of Athens, Antiochus of Syracuse (cf. Diod. XII.71.2), Hellanicus (67) as well as Empedocles, Anaxagoras (71), Democritus (72), and Hippocrates (73) are included in the first chapter (pre-480 B.C.!). Only in the case of the last-named a note stresses that this was done 'for the sake of continuity';



yet the chronological scheme was allowed to cut off Aeschylus from 'the beginnings of tragedy'.

Materially we are given the traditional scholastic data and opinions, rarely enriched by some out-of-the-way information, e.g. that a Kirghiz singer expressed himself about his inspiration in similar terms as does Phemios in the *Odyssey* (I.12) or that Kepler wrote a commentary on Plutarch *de facie* (II.79). One may feel less happy at the suggestion that Odysseus may originally have been 'a sun-god or a demonic being or even a historical king of the Cephallenians' (I.14); that  $\alpha$  1-10 'may originally have prefaced a recital of the adventures with Circe and on Thrinacia' (21) or that 'the orgiastic cult of Dionysus had its distant source perhaps in India, while Persia certainly formed a starting point for its diffusion' (34). There are précis of *Il.*, *Od.*, and all extant tragedies and comedies; there are the traditional platitudes on the Euripidean *deus ex machina* who 'cuts through the knot of the dramatic action which has become insoluble' (88: how many such misstatements Horace has got to answer for!); about the 'unmistakable political purpose' of Eur. *Suppl.* (90) and—unshaken by G. Murray's deeper appreciation—the animosity against him of Aristophanes, the conservative (97). However, we also meet with less familiar names, such as Clonas of Tegea (47), Deiochus of Proconnesus (67), and the mathematician Theodorus (108).

Vol. II, by its very subject, is likely to prove the more widely useful; I at least do not know of any single volume containing so much material about this whole long period. The reader who desires rapidly to refresh his recollections of, e.g. the Hellenistic scientists or of the latest Greek writers of history, will find concentrated information on pp. 38 and 83. However, the treatment accorded to various writers is very uneven in length. M. Aurelius is given one line (p. 60); Oinomaus of Gadara has five times as much and Philo of Alexandria (62) no more, while Lucian is accorded more than six pages (90 ff.). The classics of the Hellenistic epigram are dealt with on half a page (24); Hero[n]das alone has more (27).

The narrow compass of the two small volumes obviously left little scope for the discussion of problematical points; even so, one is struck by a number of assertions either doubtful or definitely erroneous. The treatment of the Aeschylean 'theology' centres upon an evident mistranslation of *Ag.* 927 (I.77): the *Christus patiens* is not made up of Euripidean verses only (I.89); it is more than unlikely that Antiphon the Sophist wrote the *Tetralogies* (I.121). That Greek tragedies were acted at the courts of Indian kings (II.6 and 50) is in fact mere surmise and their influence on the Indian drama more than doubtful (Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria* . . . , 381). I for one do not believe that Plautus' *Poenulus* reproduces Menander and the *Persa* a middle comedy (II.9 and 12). Apollonius *Argon.* is called 'the only great epic of Hellenism': the enumeration of some of the others immediately contradicts this statement (II.17). Theocritus 28 is not a 'Lied' (26); Callimachus' *ὑπομνήματα* are not 'recollections' (20: 'Denkwürdigkeiten') and that he was the source of Catullus 63—strangely described as 'a poem on Cybele and Attis'—is possible but not certain (21: cf. Pfeiffer *ad fr.* 761). Cleitarchus continues to be described as the source of Diodorus, Justin, and Curtius (43: hardly *pace* Tarn); Demetrius (the 'Hellenist') is said to demonstrate the existence, in the third century B.C., of the Septuagint (45: in fact, at best of *Genesis* only); Apollonius of Tyana is dated, and his 'biographer' Damis taken for real (62, 71, 98), as though E. Meyer had never written. The title of Lucian's (?) 'tragedy' should be '*Tragopodagra*' (96; cf. P. Maas, *Epidaur. Hymnen* 156, n. 3). Of Proclus the Neoplatonist many more writings survive than N. states (65); for Stephanus of Byzantium, 'ca. A.D. 600' is about the most improbable date; Eustathius and Tzetzes were not 'the last' to write commentaries on classical authors (65). Generally speaking, the book would hardly be very different, if it had been written in 1925 (but for a reference to Schadewaldt's *Iliadstudien*). The *Suda* still is *Suidas*. Outstanding papyri are not utilised, e.g. for Alcaeus, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Sophron, Sossylus. A general handicap is that we are rarely told whether a book mentioned survives or not: in most cases, an asterisk would have been sufficient. Among so many items, one is surprised to find no treatment of the *Corpus Hermeticum*.

The Christian section finally is an abstract of what the classical scholar could find in any theological handbook, were he to turn to it—which he does not; hence it may be useful to him. Here again, not every statement should be taken for final. That, for instance, 'all' gospels, even 'in their present form', are 'later than the destruction of Jerusalem' (108), I should deny (with many experts) with regard to Mark. The association of the Johannine logos with Heraclitus and the

Stoa (109) is ineradicable but misleading, and so is Harnack's epoch-making error in defining the Gnosis (114). The news of the find of Melito's homily has not yet percolated. About the 'Christian school of Alexandria' the handbooks traditionally know more than the sources tell (115).

The style, dull and cramped, lives on the dead clichés of the German scholastic jargon. 'Influences' abound and overlaid 'bridges' span unsuspected chasms: Herodotus forms the bridge between the 'logographers' and Thucydides (I.112); Hipparchus, 'in his theory of epicycles following Apollonius of Perge, therewith represents the bridge from the latter to Ptolemy' (II.40); Duris, too, by his main work, forms the bridge to Diodorus, Plutarch, and Nepos (II.43). The renderings of the plot of the *Epitrepontes* (II.11) and of Antonius Diogenes (II.101) are models of contorted obscurity; similarly, the effort at condensation turns the story of Ibycus' death into a mystery (I.50); Hypatia (II.86) fares no better.

Aesthetic judgment rarely rises above a philistine level; e.g. Eur. *I.T.*, though inferior to Goethe's, is 'credible' ('wohlgelungen'), but Or. 'far more unpleasant' (I.91); Ptolemy 'shall be forgiven' for his astrological escapade (II.85). A few translations are inserted, among which those by the author are monstrous in style and metre (II.53 Crinagoras; *ib.* 86 Ptolemy). References to German literature are frequent and generally irrelevant; e.g. Platen's Aristophanean abortions (which not one among 100,000 Germans has read) are quoted twice (I.97 and II.8) and Sophocles' book on the chorus—of which not one syllable is known—has 'a parallel' in Schiller's essay on the same subject (I.81; cf. also I.76 and 91; II.56 and 96). Shakespeare, I rejoice to report, is not neglected: the *Rudens* recalls (II.13) the *Tempest*—and indeed, there is a tempest in both.

He who consults these small volumes on points of detail, may often find some useful information; he who tries to read them, is unlikely to overcome a feeling of melancholy. If such is the fruit of *Wissenschaft* . . .

The paper, binding (or rather, stitching), and typography are rather poor; especially the Greek types. A list of about thirty misprints has been sent to the publisher.

G. ZUNTZ.

**Geschichte der griechischen Literatur: Erster Teil** (Die klassische Periode), Fünfter Band (Die griechische Literatur zur Zeit der attischen Hegemonie nach dem Eingreifen der Sophistik, Zweite Hälfte, Zweiter Abschnitt): *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft VII.1.v.* By W. SCHMID. Pp. x + 377. München: Biederstein Verlag, 1948. DM 24.

I. *Thucydides* (pp. 1-223). No one expects the author of a book of this type to produce original solutions to long-standing problems. He should at least present problems and evidence with the utmost objectivity; and preferably, when concerned with a writer as overgrown with controversial literature as Th., he should strive to let in some air and get down to essentials. S. fails to do this. He has something in common with that tradition which treats Th.'s work not as an attempt to describe events but as a piece of creative fiction. This accounts for the space devoted (pp. 43-106) to summarising the contents of the work (surely otiose in discussing a historian), and for a more serious defect, the exclusively 'internal' treatment of Th. and the consequent failure to disentangle him from his contemporaries. S. attempts at some length both to assess Th.'s competence as a historian and to discover his political standpoint, without fulfilling either of the requirements which alone make the attempt feasible. The first requirement is the bringing to bear of all our knowledge of the period; but so far from doing this, S. passes lightly over Th.'s best-known errors and omissions, merely referring the reader to other modern works (p. 158, n. 1), and makes no use of the knowledge of the practical working of the Athenian democracy which the orators provide. The second requirement is a consistent hypothesis on the nature of the speeches. It is reasonable to expect S. either to accept or to refute the argument of Gomme's *Essays in Greek History and Literature*, pp. 156 ff. In fact, he does neither; he assumes, with varying degrees of confidence (pp. 20, 107, 176), that the speeches express Th.'s own reflections. In using their content he generally warns us who is speaking, but with some dangerous exceptions (e.g. p. 120, n. 7). The consequences of this failure to detach Th. from his subject are seen most clearly in S.'s account of Th.'s political views. Th. viii.97.2 speaks plainly, and interpretation of ii.65 and the Epitaphios must conform to it (not vice-versa); but to S. the Periclean democracy is so patently Th.'s ideal (pp. 23, 118) that he calls it virtually a 'Mischverfassung' in the sense of viii.97.2 (p. 121).

Again, the section on language and style (pp. 184-201) is



essentially a classified catalogue of phenomena, which is always useful but not historically meaningful unless treated comparatively. S. rightly rates the influence of Gorgias low, recognises the colloquial element in Th., and warns us against assuming deliberate 'Ionicism'. Much more use should have been made of Attic inscriptions, which cannot (in the fifth century) be dismissed as 'Kanzleisprache'.

Presentation of the composition problem (pp. 127-39) is sketchy and not very clear. S. takes his firmest stand on the least firm evidence (the ἀρχαίολογία, p. 128, and Th.'s attitude to Sparta, p. 139), and deals perfunctorily with those passages in the text which on independent historical grounds give us upper and lower termini (e.g. ii.23.3).

The evidence for Th.'s life is presented adequately; but S. treats too gently the ancient stories that Th. was a 'pupil' of Antiphon (pp. 5-6, 8) and related to the Pisistratidae (pp. 5, 150). On the connection with Cimon he says nothing of Cavaignac's hypothesis (*RevPh* 1929, 20 ff.).

The account of textual transmission (pp. 219-22) is marred by ignorance of papyri; the text of *POxy* 1376 at vii.67.1 makes nonsense of S.'s remarks on the Vaticanus, and J. U. Powell's article in *CQ* xciii would have saved him from a vague and superficial judgment on Valla. S. mentions J. E. Powell's work (*CQ* xxx and xxxii) but makes little use of it.

'Nachleben' (pp. 207-19) contains much of interest, though the apparent reminiscences of Th. i in Lysias ii are not mentioned (apposite also in p. 15, n. 3). And to speak, as S. does, of Plato as attacking Th. is misleading. Plato did not depend on Th. for acquaintance with the Athenian democracy.

II. *Leucippus and Democritus* (pp. 224-349). Here S. tackles a harder task, the presentation of the work of authors known to us only in fragments and the reports of others. Many fragments occur in uninformative contexts, and alternative interpretations of them therefore diverge widely. The problem of finding out what L. and D. in fact said requires first a full critical discussion of the transmission and of criteria of authenticity, and secondly a positive statement of what little is undisputed combined with a clearly distinguishable caution in placing and interpreting ambiguous fragments. In general S. has sacrificed much to systematisation and a deceptive clarity.

His information on sources and transmission (pp. 243-53) is full and interesting; general questions of authenticity are naturally involved therein (cf. pp. 343 ff.), but it is not enough to take dialect as a primary criterion (p. 251), considering the highly Atticised morphology of D.'s fragments in Stobaeus (of which Diels-Kranz give hardly a hint, though S. shows on p. 322 that he is aware of it). The authenticity of individual titles and fragments has been settled offstage; the reader's attention is drawn to major controversies (in footnotes), not always with sufficient indication of the issues involved. There is one inconsistency: D.'s alleged treatise on cuneiform script is rejected as spurious in p. 344, n. 2, accepted as genuine on p. 275, and left in doubt on p. 247.

So it is with interpretations. S. is sensible and clear on the atomic theory of both L. and D., but his account of D.'s epistemology is a little bewildering, mainly through the unjustified plugging of gaps in our knowledge; D. did not use the term ἐπιστήμη; and it is no argument that Thrasyllus explained the Κρονικήρα as ἐπιστήμη τῶν προσηρημένων (p. 261, n. 1; cf. p. 270). On pp. 264-70, where the theory of human origins and progress summarised by Diod. i.8 is attributed to D.'s Μικρὸς Διάκοσμος (an attribution which is the basis of other arguments, e.g. pp. 277, 280-1), the reader is not warned that the tracing of this theory to D. by Reinhardt (*Hermes* xlvii, 492 ff.) and Uxkull-Gyllenband (*Bibl. für Philos.* xxvi, 25 ff.) was damagingly criticised by J. H. Dahlmann (*De philosophorum Graecorum sententiis ad loquelae originem pertinentibus*, Diss., Leipzig 1928), that we possess only one (autobiographical) fragment specifically quoted from the Μικρὸς Διάκοσμος, and that the idea that it dealt with human development at all rests on a single interesting but tentative suggestion (Reinhardt, *loc. cit.*, 509).

The available material makes it inevitable that a description of the ethical, religious, and political doctrine of D. should be a somewhat disconnected catalogue, and S. tries too hard to disguise this as an organic whole, thereby discounting the fact that ancient anthologists ransacked an author without caring if the resulting crop of γράμματα, uprooted from their contexts, misrepresented him. But S. is rightly non-committal in separating the original element in D. from the derivative, and takes only one bold plunge in suggesting, on quite inadequate grounds (p. 330), that D.'s ethics presuppose Socratic teaching.

Pp. 321-8, on language and style, are full of interesting matter but (as in the case of Th.) lack the required comparative treatment.

Bibliographical guidance throughout the book is good, though not unexceptionable. The index comprises also an index to Bd. iv.

K. J. DOVER.

**Anthologia Lyrica Graeca.** Edidit ERNESTUS DIEHL†. Fasc. i—*Poetae Elegiaci*; Fasc. ii—*Theognis: Ps.-Pythagoras: Ps.-Phocylides: Chares: Anonymi Aulodia*. Editio tertia. Pp. iv + 144; viii + 116. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1949; 1950. \$2.40, 1.97.

At its first publication in 1922-25, Diehl's *ALG* was at once recognised as a standard authority, though it must be conceded that this recognition was less a tribute to the merits of the new work (which were indeed considerable) than an indication of the desperate need for an up-to-date guide to the study of the lyric fragments. A new edition ('D<sup>2</sup>'), embodying marked improvements in content and layout, began to appear in 1935, and the four fascicles of Vol. i were complete by the middle of 1936; Vol. ii, however, did not appear until 1942, and neither it nor the *Supplementum* which Diehl later published has ever become generally available in this country. Diehl's afterthoughts on Alcaeus and Sappho can be read in *RhMus*, N.F. LXXXII, 1943, 1-26, but a republication of the second volume has been an urgent need ever since the end of the war, when it became known that the second edition would never be obtainable. This crying need seems to be as far as ever from being satisfied, though it is to be hoped that further fascicles of *ALG<sup>2</sup>* will appear in due time to join the two now under consideration.

Diehl did not live to complete the revision of even the first of these fascicles for the press, and the editorial work has been undertaken by Professor Rudolf Beutler of Munich, who in a short preface to fasc. i says that he has limited himself to republishing the second edition, adding thereto Diehl's own supplementary notes and points from periodicals and books which have appeared since Diehl's death. One or two of the new notes are marked '(Beu.)', but apart from these it is not always clear which of the new features is to be ascribed to a change of mind by Diehl, and which to his editor. Whichever of them is responsible for the new headings, giving the name and nationality of the poets in Greek, this change must be roundly condemned as an idiotic pedantry, even when the nationality is certainly known and correctly given; but what is one to say of (e.g.) Τυρταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος or Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος? Nothing else which has been added to either fascicle comes near to plumb the depth of absurdity reached by the latter example; but it must be regarded as a more serious defect of the new edition that a certain amount of space has been wasted in the commentary by adding to Diehl's already over-lavish assembly of alleged parallels—if this collection had been pruned, there would have been space for fuller reproduction of the contexts (Diehl was always niggardly with these) and for some relevant passages which have not been included.

But users of Diehl already know only too well what to expect on the negative side, and it is more important to set down the main changes revealed by a partial collation of the two fascicles with their predecessors. The bibliographies have been expanded throughout, and nearly everything relevant which has appeared since 1935 seems to be included (the most notable absentees are perhaps Snell's *Entdeckung des Geistes* and Becker's *Bild des Weges*). Among the texts, we have new readings of the Berlin Tyrtæus papyrus (Tyr. 1) by Ibscher, which is for the most part greatly improved, though one must wonder if D<sup>2</sup>'s fr. 1A is rightly placed at the ends of lines 20, 21, 28 in the new version, and of the Sophocles *Poëan* after Oliver (*Hesperia* v, 1936, 91 ff.) and v. Blumenthal (*Bursians Jahrbuch* CCLXXVII, 1943, 71 f.); a new fragment (12A) of Mimnermus (a couplet from a Hermupolis papyrus in Milan, ed. pr. Vogliano, *PMil.* I, 1937), and three new *adespotas*, 6A and 12A (both insignificant) from Philodemus, and 20 from a Strasbourg papyrus (ed. Snell, *Hermes Einzelschr.* v, 1937); fasc. ii has new sections for Chares the gnomologist (without any reference to Powell's edition in *Coll. Alex.* 223-7) and for the anonymous *ἀσπασία* (*POxy.* XV, 1795; due credit is given here to Powell, *op. cit.*, 199-200).

I add the following notes on points of detail: fasc. i. 9 (and elsewhere)—scholia to Plato should now be quoted from the Harvard edition by W. C. Greene and others (1938); 11—a new note on Tyr. 6/7.5 'audis Aeneae fata' deserves mention for its almost sublime irrelevance; 13—on Tyr. 8 the lemma in Stobaeus is now given as *ἐπὶ πολέμου (πλοούτου D<sup>2</sup>)*; id. 6 now reads (ὡς) for (ὡς); on id. 7 f. there is a completely otiose reference to Origen; 17—in Tyr. 9. 22 the MS. reading *ἀνδρὸς δ'* replaces Bergk's *δὲ δ' αὐτ'*; 37—on Sol. 15.1 *μῦθος*, Stephanus' conjecture *μῦθος* is still quoted without



reference to Alc. 11 D.; 49—in Mimn. 1. 6 Hermann's ridiculous καὶ δὲ still keeps the MS. reading καὶ δὲ out of the text; 52—in Mimn. 10 we are referred to 'Antim. 4 D.' without mention of Wyss; 57—the note on Phocyl. 1.1 is a good example of solemn absurdity ('Tim. Loc.' is certainly no more relevant than Herodotus or Thucydides, who are not mentioned); 58—on Phocyl. 4.2 the fall of Nineveh is now correctly dated 612 (D<sup>2</sup> had 606); 63—the notes on Xenoph. 1.1 and 2 f. really belong to Xenoph. 2; 69—on Xenoph. 13.1 no mention is made of the conjecture βόες θ' ἱπποὶ τ' ἐθελοντες (probably by W. Jaeger, cf. CR LXII, 1948, 160); fasc. ii—in the apparatus criticus to Theognis the MS. cod. Vat. gr. 915, which D<sup>2</sup> usually called 'Vat.' (but sometimes 'O'), is now uniformly 'O', but the MS. is not described in the introduction, and no notice is taken there of Carrière's work; 6—Thgn. 57 now begins καὶ νῦν;—αἰο' (καὶ νῦν αἰο' D<sup>2</sup>), and the note on 47 condemns Schoemann's ἀντιμ' ἐκισθῆαι as 'contra Homeri usum' (as if *Homeri usus* had anything much to do with the text of Theognis); 10—two good examples of irrelevant erudition (we are invited to compare Thgn. 127 with Thuc. 3.20.4, and on Thgn. 132 δόση . . . δίκη we are reminded that δόση is a substantive in Homer); 13—on Thgn. 174 the author of *Malaria and Greek History* appears as 'Iones'; 18—Od. 9.19 f. is not so good a parallel for Thgn. 247 f. as Od. 12.70 ('Ἄργῳ πᾶσι μῦθουσα'); 20—Thgn. 287 begins † ὡς ἐξ ποσειδάων † where D<sup>2</sup> had ἐξ δὲ τὸ σῶμα αἰε'; 22—on Thgn. 325 there is a new note 'addas μεταβολὰ Simon. 13.19', which pays no attention to my 'unmasking of that impostor' (D. L. Page, JHS LXXI, 1951, 136, referring to my article in CQ XXIX, 1935, 89)—an ill omen for the relevant passage in the new edition of Vol. ii; 24—Od. 11.98 seems to have very little to do with Thgn. 349; 27—Thgn. 413 now reads οὐδ' ἐμὲ γ' ὄλεος (οὐδὲ μὲ ὄλεος D<sup>2</sup>); 31—on Thgn. 457-96, Bowra's *Greek Lyrical Poetry* 381-3 should be quoted as well as his 1934 article in CR.; 42—Thgn. 660 now reads † καὶ πρῆσαι † (καὶ πρῆσαι D<sup>2</sup>), 664 has ἐπὶ γ' οὖν ὤλεσε (Diehl) for D<sup>2</sup>'s ἀπὸ πᾶν ὤλεσε, and 667-82 requires a reference to Bowra, GLP 383-4; 43—those who know the fragments of Sappho will raise an eyebrow at the note on Thgn. 691 f., "nota propempticon antiquissimum" Kern Friedl.; 51—Thgn. 838 χαλεπὴ is a slip for χαλεπὴ (D<sup>2</sup>); 60—in Thgn. 992 Bergk's δύνανται δ' ἄλλοτε has replaced the MS. reading δύνανται ἄλλοτε δ'; 61—de Iasone is a surprising comment on Thgn. 1009 f.; 67—in Thgn. 1128 Wassenbergh's διαδελνέου τε μυχοῦ has been displaced by † διαμαλνέου τε μυχοῦ †; 69—Thgn. 1161 now has † πασι κατὰθήσειν † (O) for A's ἥσειν κατὰ πασι; 71—D<sup>2</sup>'s note on Thgn. 1194 has been shortened by the (seemingly accidental) omission of about a line; 72—Thgn. 1201 now has κυρὸν . . . ὀρότρον (approved by Hudson-Williams) for D<sup>2</sup>'s κυρὸν . . . ὀρότρον; 74—on Thgn. 1231 ff., a reference to Bowra, GLP 384, is needed; 75—in Thgn. 1258, Carrière's emendation τοῖς φίλοις αἰ has replaced τοῖσι φίλοι; 77—Thgn. 1310 now has † παιδαῖδη † for D<sup>2</sup>'s παιδ' ἀδῆ; 78—on Thgn. 1320 add Pind. Pyth. 9.97-100, 10.39; 79—Thgn. 1335 now ends οὐκ ἔστι <8> ὁδῶν; 80—a new note on Thgn. 1365 reads 'cf. Oedipod. fr. 2 K. (!)', whatever the exclamation-mark may mean; 109—the reference to Bergk, PLG II<sup>4</sup>, 372, in the second line of the introductory note to Chares is wrong—the passage will be found *ibid.*, p. 674, under Crates.

The new large format is employed, the type is clear (though the Greek fount is less attractive than that used in the second edition), and the printing is good (misprints are very rare); the paper and binding are alike abominable. As a revision of Diehl's work, this new edition will serve very well; but it can never meet our real need, which is for a thorough-going revision of Bergk, PLG II and III, enabling a real anthology of Greek lyric poetry to be made, to replace Diehl's valuable but altogether mis-named work.

A. DAVISON.

**Greek Poetry for Everyman.** By F. L. LUCAS. Pp. xxxiv + 414. London: Dent. 1951.

'There are now', writes Mr. Lucas, 'plenty of modern versions of Greek poetry, but not to my knowledge any attempt to combine all the best of that poetry in a single homogeneous book with the introductions and notes needed for the non-classical'. This want he has set out to supply in *Greek Poetry for Everyman*. He has done it on a generous scale. The book contains nearly 10,000 lines of verse in all. About half is accounted for by Homer; something like one-fifth of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is included. The rest of the volume comprises selections from Hesiod and the Homeric hymns, the lyric poets, and hexameter and elegiac verse from the post-Homeric period to the Byzantine. The only noteworthy omission is of the Attic dramatists. The careless reader might

suppose that the translator did not consider these worth inclusion, for he might well miss a footnote to the introduction which states that the dramatists are reserved a further volume.

While there is much to enjoy and admire in the book, it cannot be called a complete success. The print is rather too small for pleasant reading, and it is to be feared that some will be put off by its length and the crowded appearance of its pages. In addition to the translations there is a general introduction, individual introductions to each author, and notes distributed throughout the book at the ends of each section. All this tends to overload the book, and the forbidding appearance of the pages of notes contrasts with the lively and interesting matter to be found in them. The book in fact contains rather more than one volume can conveniently hold. Mr. Lucas expresses the wish that the Tudor and Jacobean translators had rendered 'the great writers of the Hellenes, as of the Hebrews, into a collected volume'. But would the great writers of the Hebrews have survived the close print and double columns of the average Bible if they had not formed part of the sacred books of the Church? It would be a pity to kill Greek literature by putting too much of it between two covers.

Mr. Lucas is a scholar and man of letters with a wide knowledge of literature ancient and modern, a deep love of ancient Greece, and a low opinion of most of his contemporaries. At a time when our more fashionable translators adopt the halting rhythms of contemporary verse or fall back on prose, he remains faithful to traditional methods, uses rhymed verse and avoids, as he puts it, 'both aggressively ancient and aggressively modern words'. To represent the hexameter—and much of what he translates is hexameter verse—he adopts the metre of William Morris's *Odyssey*, lines with six stresses and a mixture of iambic and anapaestic rhythm, a metre which moves rapidly, and, with its suggestion of the ballad, is appropriate enough to heroic narrative, though it does not always rise to the dignity and eloquence of which the Greek hexameter is capable. The following lines will show how Mr. Lucas handles a well-known passage from the *Iliad*:

So saying, the glorious Hector stretched out his hands to his son;

But into the maid's deep bosom, with a wail, the little one Shrank back, crying out in terror on his father's head to see Bronze casque and crest of horsehair, nodding so fearsomely High on the top of his helmet. At that there laughed aloud Fond father and loving mother; and the hero glittering browed Lifted the helm from his forehead and laid its flashing pride Low on the earth; then kissed the babe, and dandled it and cried:

'O Zeus, O Gods of Heaven, grant to me that my son May win among the Trojans such fame as I have won. Mighty as mine be his arm, and valiant be his reign In Ilios; let men say, as they see him ride again From battle with spoils all bloody, that once a foeman clad, 'He is better far than his father'—till his mother's heart grows glad.

For elegiacs Mr. Lucas uses a variation of the same metre. Not always, in my opinion, with complete success, for the lines are rather long and encourage a tendency to wordiness in the translator. πῶταίην ὅτε μοι μήρετι ταῦτα μέλοι appears in Mr. Lucas's version as 'Let me die, when I am gladdened no more by things like these'—more than twice as many words as the Greek has. English cannot, of course, always be as concise as Greek, and it is hard for the translator to avoid weak monosyllables. But Mr. Lucas's long lines with their loose rhythm do not impose sufficient discipline. The directness and economy of the original tends to be lost, as in this rendering of an epigram by Palladas (A.P. x. 65):

Life is a voyage of peril. Before its tempests driven,  
Often we make worse shipwreck than ever ship at sea.  
No pilot except Fortune to guide our helm is given,  
And none knows to what ending the course she sets shall be.  
To some shall fall fair weather; for some shall ill winds blow;  
Yet one for all is the harbour, deep in the night below.

Here, on the other hand, is an example of one of Mr. Lucas's more successful renderings, of an epigram by Anyte (A.P. ix. 314):

Beside the grey sea shingle, here at the cross-roads' meeting  
I, Hermes, stand and wait, where the windswept orchard grows.  
I give, to wanderers weary, rest from the road and greeting:  
Cool and unpolluted from my spring the water flows.

M. L. CLARKE.



**Homère et les origines sacerdotales de l'épopée grecque.** By CHARLES AUTRAN. Paris: Les Éditions Denoël. I, pp. 169, 1938, Fr. 30; II, pp. 318, 1939, Fr. 65; III, pp. 378, 1944, Fr. 288.  
**L'épopée indoue, étude de l'arrière-fonds ethnographique et religieux.** By CHARLES AUTRAN. Pp. 410. Paris: Les Éditions Denoël, 1946, Fr. 575.

However presumptuous I may seem in trying to judge researches of which the greater part far exceeds my competence, and however hard it may consequently be for me to write convincingly about them, I have yet no hesitation in attempting this notice of M. Charles Autran's last four volumes, because I am quite sure that the need to assimilate his results, and to extend the use of his method, is very urgent, but scarcely yet even recognised.

The urgency of the need should be clear to anyone who reads the volumes attentively. For example, it is immediately obvious that a neglect of the rich evidence now available for the dependence of Greek epic language on oriental originals, of which it is in places formally, or indeed formally, a translation, and also of other evidence proving affiliations of many Greek words which are by no means adequately enlightened by Indo-European parallels, could, in Greek lexicography alone, quickly waste thousands of pounds, and set back for generations the advance of knowledge.

The first volume of *Homère* . . . is concerned with Homer's metre, language, and style, the second with some of the individual heroes who are characters in the poems, and the third with ethnic and tribal groups mentioned in the poems or relevant to them, and with their temples, and their divinities. According to M. Autran's general doctrine, which is probably now fairly well known at least by hearsay, Greek hexameter poetry is derived from hymns chanted to deities and heroes in pre-Hellenic times by priests belonging to a vast cultural complex extending over Western Asia and the Aegean area, including Lycians, Termilae, and other peoples, some cognate. Homeric poetry was certainly not at first merely Greek, but rather international. Its epic formulae belong to a repertory which is remarkably homogeneous from the Aegean to India. Its hexameter, with its features notoriously irregular in the Indo-European group of languages, and the violence with which the Greek language was forced to fit the hexameter, are plainly explicable by comparison with other groups extending far beyond the usual reach of classical research, a comparison indeed suggested by the legend of Olen, who was one of the Lycians or Termilae, and by what is known about their language. The characters in Greek epic are deities and heroes who had cults, shrines, and priests, or the support of priests. The ethnography and theology of early Greek history and prehistory prove many affiliations to peoples, places, and institutions not only of nearer Asia, but also of the more distant Asia of the steppes and beyond. Neither Achaeans nor Ionians were at first Greek; and it is a serious probability that *ἄναξ* is cognate with Chinese *Wang*.

*L'épopée indoue* might be said to follow the track of world epic farther back, to an Indian tradition even more 'international' than the Asiano-Aegean tradition behind Homer. The discussion begins with a fact at the very base of culture and indeed of life. This fact is the controlling importance of centres of water-supply, which, regularly 'guarded' by a 'sacred' snake, appear with notable similarity both in their actualities and in their legends over a very great part of the world. Of the events which broke in upon the old agricultural dispensation which this religion may fairly be held to represent, the most momentous was the irruption at times between 1950 and 1100 B.C. of feudal aristocracies, originating in mountainous territories, who overran and overcame all in their path, eventually as far as Japan and Ireland, by use of the power conferred on them by their light chariots, and also, apparently, by their religious tolerance. In general, epic remembers these chieftains as heroes of legend; it cannot properly be said to remember great men of history. But Indian epic also remembers a traditional past far older than 'the Charioteers'; and ancient influences inherited from that past soon revived, suffusing the military, feudal memories with a colour more spiritual and other-worldly, a reflection of old steppic conditions in distant Asia, and perhaps coherent with the tradition of Shamanism.

This outline of the contents of these four volumes does not succeed in indicating what in them is both new and true, and characteristic of their author and of no one else. The great merit of M. Autran is a combination of two great merits. The first of them is a linguistic knowledge apparently sufficient to enable him to correct the current dictionaries of some forty

languages, ancient, mediaeval, and modern. It is a knowledge equally philological and literary. This sense of the literary values is a connection between the two great merits. For the second of the two is a notable and original conception of the meaning and the mechanisms of human culture and tradition, and of the significance and the generative process of epic poetry.

Neither can the contents of the volumes be in any sense covered by comment on specific issues. But some of the issues can usefully be chosen for notice as cardinal for future directions. Some questions can henceforward be considered closed. On others further debate may still be constructive.

In the treatment of the hexameter and of Greek epic language and style, Evans, Meister, Meillet, and Milman Parry are to some extent followed or at least respected. Fick is sharply opposed. There might arise intricate debate with Mahlow, Mazon, Bedell Stanford, Severins, and now Manu Leumann. The epic language was a professional language, stemming from a time when Greek was not used for the recitations. Slowly a Greek epic language was generated and fitted to the hexameter rhythm. That rhythm is not clearly at home in any Indo-European context, as are Vedic, Aeolian, Saturnian, and OE metres; but it is at home among the Lycian Termilae, since in ancient Tamil, which is cognate with their language, the form *-u* and the equivalence of *-* to *u* are organic and regular. Even the arbitrary and artificial manipulations of words *metri gratia*, of which Homer can never quite be acquitted, has its parallel in some dialects of Munđā. These comparisons are, surely, a brilliant use of great learning, and may prove final. Hexameter poetry, then, is, at base, bilingual or multilingual, sophisticated, artificial, formulaic of course, not original, and in no sense spontaneous. It has, as Nilsson says, stratification, in language as in allusion; here M. Autran, penetratingly forecasting later arguments, for example as recently proposed by Sir John Myres and Miss H. L. Lorimer, suggests that the allusions only seem so much stratified because the archaeological material has been incompletely interpreted. To its hieratic origin Greek epic owes its perfect unity of tone, and also its persuasive moral elevation.

Perhaps M. Autran does not fully dispose of the possible answer that anapaestic rhythm seems natural enough for Greek, and indeed that a dance in waltz-time would have started a hexameter rhythm anywhere. Mr. A. C. Harwood calls the hexameter the normal rhythm of breathing. Plato's *Ion*, mentioned indeed near the end of *Homère* . . ., and M. Pius Servien, *Les rythmes comme introduction physique à l'esthétique*, might suggest that in manipulating a metre both hard head-work, in Goethe's sense, and later a free, fluent composition are equally possible in the same genre, so that spontaneity is not lightly to be denied altogether. Originality is a big question. Room should be left for 'integration' (my term) and 'neo-analysis' (the term of M. J. Th. Kakridis). It is hard to assert 'translation' from Aeolic in Fick's sense, but it is also hard to deny it entirely; there remain the amusing cases such as *Πολυπαμνίδισσος*. There have, of course, been very able reconstructions of an original Greek epic dialect in which language and metre are not in conflict. On the whole I doubt if they are secure enough to threaten M. Autran's view. But surely the style and tone of the Homeric poems vary. I have a sense of a different author and idiom at the beginning, for example, of *Iliad* X and XIII, and of *Odyssey* VI; and, for the *Iliad* at least, Mazon has shown such differences to be matters of plain fact, not just a feeling. Certainly, modern priests preach high moral conduct, and ancient priests did too. But at least some poets of secular, or at least not ecclesiastical, outlook preach, or intimate, a higher code than some priests. The individual conscience, and revelation to individuals, have contributed to religious progress; and as Sam Wide, for example, and now W. K. C. Guthrie have indicated, the religion of individuals mattered in Greece. Homer, therefore, may have expressed his own moral sensibility, just as much as an established religious code, in the persuasive construction of his poetry; though a certain *campanilismo* does begin to seem still more evident in Homer from an article, and now a book *Homère*, by M. Fernand Robert, who, unlike many scholars, has had, and used, the chance to develop M. Autran's observations.

M. Autran does, however, seem to imply, and to argue from, a too narrowly limited conception of ecclesiastical tradition, in too sharp a distinction from the possible activities of educated or at least eloquent laymen. There may have been tribes with no close contact with literate centres, whose 'saga-men', as Professor H. J. Rose would call them, told or chanted heroic stories of living or recent chieftains. The effect of the 'Wiros' has perhaps been overestimated; M. Autran argues



convincingly against M. Georges Dumézil's equation 'flamenbrahman', and he notably proves that the I-E layer is anything but all-sufficient, and does not even coincide with the ethnic layer or layers of 'The Charioteers'. But, for balance, it is now necessary to hold present, if not all that M. Dumézil suggests, at least the common Wiro 'pattern of belief' so well treated by Professor L. R. Palmer, Professor George Thomson's important observations of spontaneous, illiterate poetry especially in Ireland, and distinctions between the Wiro mind and the hieratical psychology of the earlier east for which reference can be made, for example, to M. E. Cavaignac and now M. Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin. In all this question M. Autran may leave some distortion of emphasis in the minds of some readers. He is, of course, right to deprecate 'the Hellenic obsession', and his book is not about the appearance of people, if there were any, exclusively Hellenic. But it might have been useful to lay some more emphasis on the 'northern' side of the question, for example the Bohemian Bronze Age, Halos, and the rest.

On the other hand, M. Autran could reply that no facts or possibilities on this side of the question are excluded by what he has written. Again and again an objection suggested by one passage is amply met by a later passage, perhaps hundreds of pages afterwards. In particular he is fully aware of the character 'à demi laïcisé' of Homeric poetry, and of its place between epochs of theocratic traditionalism and of 'democratisation'. And his discussion of the insufficiency for great poetry of Japanese grammar and sound-values, and of the interplay of Iranian, Arabic, Sumerian, and other influences to create Persian epyllia and eventually the mature epic of Firduzi, are no less effectively relevant than they are breath-takingly brilliant. So too are many linguistic demonstrations, for example of the affinities and meaning of the names Apollo, Hector, and many more, and of the vast early, perhaps neolithic, extent of a pre-I-E vocabulary to which Greek, Chinese, and many other languages owe their words for 'dog', 'pig', and 'arrow'. Some affinities displayed are newer to science than others. The forms of the name Agamemnon, rightly analysed, as M. Autran warmly says, by Prellwitz, were, or ought to have been, familiar, and something was known of the non-I-E connexions of  $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\acute{o}\delta\omega\nu$ , and  $\alpha\lambda\iota\varsigma$ , etc. Many of the impressive survivals of Asiatic words in pre-Latin Italy are in Schulze's lists of names. But M. Autran, though he always tries to cite every modern authority, and regards as familiar what to others is very recondite material, has such an immense command of linguistic and historical facts, firmly based on intimate first-hand knowledge of original texts, often in many versions and many dialects, that he can hardly state what is already known without transforming it and illuminating it. Others may cite Accadian and Aramaic. He will add forms from Malaya and Cambodia. So, too, in history he is as ready to show the like effect of ecclesiastical Greek on the different languages of the Balkans as he is to characterise pre-Columbian American hagiology, distinguishing its peculiarity, and distinguishing, too, the better from the less successful among modern authorities on pre-Columbian America. He once notes that all the words used for a comparison are in one list or lexicon or in another. But he still gains, because he is familiar with them all; surely no one else would have made so convincing, by cumulative linguistic evidence, the diffusion through prehistoric Italy of Asiatic proper names; and few would have known both the comparative material and the Egyptian texts of many periods well enough to shew quite plainly that  $\sigma\chi\epsilon\lambda\alpha$  (sic) is simply  $\text{šqedj}$ .

The four volumes do not seek to create a system or even to reach conclusions. That is emphasised. They seek only to array facts which cannot safely be overlooked. There is little controversy in them, and what there is is courteous or extremely diffident. If the account of the Achaeans is different from received views—it is not our fault, but the result of the perspective chosen. The facts, and the perspectives, are indispensable to Hellenists, even more than the plentiful statements within their own normal terms of reference. Among these statements are judgements concerning the origin and growth of hero-cults, their relation to epic, the legends of Io, Perseus, and Danaos as approximately true heraldic versions of pre-history, and a notable treatment of the pre-Hellenic world as not simply Minoan, Helladic, and Mycenaean, but as an elaborate complex, susceptible of analysis, in which feudal aristocracies, closely connected with cults, or themselves providing priests or uniting church and state in theocracies, furnished the vital enterprise, and established centres of power as far as Attica, Dodona, Italy, and perhaps Spain.

These more directly pre-Hellenic and Hellenic subjects are

not, of course, exhausted, or intended to seem exhausted. There is room for more debate on grounds of archaeology, religious history, and the critique of myth. It is still not clear in what sense Helen really did visit Egypt, or what sort of confidence, and how much, can be placed in this or that version in heraldic history when it has all been edited and re-edited again and again for successive reasons, none strictly scientific. On the other hand, it does now seem hard to doubt that, in extension of the doctrines of Thucydides and Curtius, the centres of Greek civilisation were founded and sustained by noble families, not originally 'Greek', but Carian, Termilan, and other, arrived mainly from Asia Minor and from Crete, so that a Carian Zeus in Attica and a 'Caria' in the Megarid are simply what they appear to be; that even in Dodona Zeus, who almost alone of the deities has a clear, I-E name, is in content the complex result of traditions reaching back to early Sumer at least; that the Homeric cosmology is derived from eastern clerical learning, and indeed when Achilles is compared to Sirius it is only to Asiatic, not to Greek astronomy, that the reference can apply; that the Aeolians were not a race but an artificially systematised mixed multitude; that both Achaeans and Ionians came from Asia; that Homer reflects the ways and the warfare of Hurrites and Hittites perhaps including Troy II's fall, and follows the same epic tradition which they derived from Mesopotamian temple-cities, and which lived long after on the Anatolian coast in that world, not wholly lost, which M. Charles Picard mainly reconstructs, and which is now being systematically explored; that Homeric style does indeed grow from pre-Hellenic hymnology, as poetry before Homer, and liturgic verse long after him, both help to prove; and that Homeric epic is related to ecclesiastical tradition more or less as mediaeval epic was shown by M. J. Bédier to be related to it.

In such works as these it is almost impertinence to note omissions, errors, or misprints. Of misprints there are not a few, especially in the two earlier volumes. *Ha-Nebu* is printed once vocalised and once not. Polemo and Dörpfeld might have been cited on the Ionians. Fijian oral literature would have been relevant on the growth of epic; so, surely, could the world-wide practice of simple story-telling, sometimes by a professional story-teller; and so, too, for comparison in the Homeric question, could the probability, asserted in *L'épopée indoue*, that at least in some part the origin of Indian epic was popular, and therefore not classical and learned. The date, about 1900 B.C. for the arrival of Aeolians in Asia Minor, seems strangely early. It has long appeared to me well worth while to set beside the story of the *Iliad*, especially at its beginning, several notable versions of historical sieges in Babylonia about 2000 B.C., in which the same pattern is detectable. Two little known papers of S. B. Slack, comparing both the idioms and the myths of Latins and Hebrews together, might have been interestingly cited to show how deeply one language can affect another, even when it does not displace it; a comparison relevant for Hittite, Persian, and Balkanic languages.

Very valuable is the penetrating insight into the nature and strength of ancient aristocratic tradition, with notable linguistic proof that early kings were first priests, into the importance of it for human history, and into Homer's great moral and artistic success, in gracefully emphasising broad simple facts of human relations and destiny. Perhaps equally valuable is the magnificent material on the general history of world religion which makes the present volumes amount to an indispensable handbook on the subject. In India a motor-cycle may be religiously tended, and a deceased *sahib* has been offered sacrifices of whisky and cigars. At the other end of the span of time, and in, or near, the beginning, the respect for liquid as the source of life, and its pervasive symbolisation in ideogram and cult, help in showing how the tendence of the great dead and fertility ritual belong together.

This review is long, mainly because the books cannot speak nearly enough for themselves. They, and other works of their author, went out of print rapidly; and settled conditions, with financial resources, are needed if long technical works are to be kept in print. At least the copies which are now available in the right places should be used. I said that they are technical books. So they are, but written in a lively French, sometimes with deep feeling and sometimes almost with gaiety. To comment on the comic aspect of some gods in Homeric and in pre-Hellenic epic, a distinction is drawn between the outlook of the sacristan and of the initiated mystic. The one is Apolline, but not the other. To bring out the point, there is quoted from Tamil the proverb, 'the sanctuary cat has no fear of the gods'. It is like M. Autran to say it, and to be able to say it, in that way.

W. F. J. KNIGHT.



**Der Pfeilschuss des Pandaros. Neue Untersuchungen zur 'Homerischen' Ilias, mit einer Übersetzung von Ilias 3-7.** By H. J. METTE. Pp. 108. Halle (Saale): Max Niemeyer, 1951. DM 5.60.

**Commenti Mediterranei all' Odissea di Omero (Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Lettere e di Filosofia dell' Università di Pavia, IV).** By G. PATRONI. Pp. xvii + 597. Milan: Carlo Marzorati, 1950. Price is not given.

The first of these writers makes the remarkable claim that he has identified 'the oldest poem of the Western World' in *Iliad* 3-7. He adumbrates this in the thirty pages of his introduction. The rest of the book consists of a translation of this earliest poem of European literature. When one searches through the author's ill-assorted (but very fully documented) remarks for some substantiation of his would-be epoch-making assertion, one finds almost nothing. In fact, the one 'independent, objective criterion for the chronological identification of the old epic style' (as he calls the use of the short dative plural in -οις) is against his view. So also are some neglected digammas, as the author admits. Nothing is said of Leaf's opinion that this episode must belong to the Second Stratum. The subsequent deductions about 'the oldest type of European man' are puerile. Until Mette can make a better case than this, the history of European literature need not be re-written. But his bibliographical material and some incidental remarks may be useful to Homerists.

Professor Patroni's long work is the fruit of over half a century of Homeric study. His main purpose is to distinguish what he calls the 'Mediterranean' elements (belonging to the pre-Achaean myth of Odysseus) from the 'Achaean' elements in the *Odyssey*. To do this he reviews the whole poem incident by incident, adding copious remarks on theological, ethical, archaeological, metrical and linguistic matters. His mixture of detailed commentary with far-reaching speculation is not entirely satisfactory. The reader has to piece together the author's views on his main thesis from widely scattered observations, and there is much tedious repetition. But an agreeably sympathetic style—at times almost lyrical in its enthusiasm for Homer's genius—makes the whole book pleasant to read.

According to Patroni's theory the author of the *Odyssey* was a young bilingual poet, skilled in both the 'Mediterranean' and the 'Achaean' languages and literatures, who wrote his poem (very much as we have it now) in the tenth century for a successor of Erechtheus at Athens. (Only clairvoyance could justify the precision of some further biographical details as given by Patroni.) This Homer took the plot of the poem from a predecessor whose great literary achievement was to combine a 'Mediterranean' story of an astute and resourceful mariner with some elements of 'Achaean' saga. Possibly this combination was first suggested by a similarity between the names of the fabulous voyager and some heroic warrior. In the pre-Homeric version Odysseus's wanderings preceded the siege of Troy, so that the wanderer was absent from home for only ten years, not twenty. Homer reversed this order when, to suit his Achaean patron, he made Odysseus's wanderings into an Achaean *nostos*. But he overlooked some necessary adjustments in the story. Hence some anomalies: for example, the childishness of Telemachus in the opening scenes; in the original version he would only be ten when his father returned. Homer wrote the *Odyssey* before the *Iliad*. Consequently its religious and political thought is less mature. In order to give Odysseus some standing as an Achaean prince Homer (or his poetic predecessor) allotted him a remote kingdom in Ithaca and the surrounding islands. The failure of archaeologists to find any remains of Odysseus's residence in Ithaki (which Patroni accepts as Ithaca) is simply because Odysseus was originally not historical at all, but mythical.

Though Homer ostensibly wrote the *Odyssey* to glorify and please Achaeans, his true sympathies (like Patroni's) are with the 'Mediterraneans'. He secretly disliked the blood-thirsty warrior type and admired the peace-loving, humane, industrious pre-Achaean peoples. All his poem is tinged with this predilection. Sometimes he even caricatures the conventional Achaean battle scene, as, for example, in the slaughter of the Suitors with their absurdly exaggerated numbers. (Originally, Patroni holds, there were only six or twelve of them.) Almost all that is kind, good, and gentle, in the *Odyssey* is to be attributed to 'Mediterranean' sources.

'Mediterranean' elements can also be discerned in the theology of the *Odyssey*. Athene, Circe, Calypso, and Ino are derivatives of the supreme Mediterranean deity, the Potnia. Originally the male 'Tin-Zeus' was no more than her servant and occasional consort. The Achaeans exalted him to the presidency of the Olympian assembly because they

preferred a masculine and warlike god. (The only form of fighting approved of in the 'Mediterranean' theology and ethics was the vendetta, which they pursued relentlessly.) Athene's pre-eminence in the *Odyssey* is due to the Potnia's surviving influence. Homer preferred the 'Mediterranean' cult. Thus, his cantata on the adultery of Ares and Aphrodite in Book Eight is implicitly a criticism of Achaean beliefs, and signifies 'the triumph of the Mediterranean religion over the stupid and impious Olympian heresy', the 'heresy' being the exaltation of a masculine deity over the Potnia. (Whoever believes Patroni's arguments on this, after referring them to what Homer actually says, will believe anything.)

There are many noteworthy *obiter dicta*. Menelaus's visit to Proteus is thought (with Pestalozza) to have been originally an incident in Odysseus's wanderings. Scheria is Malta. The *Nekyia* serves as the very pivot of the whole poem and as the main preparation for Homer's later composition, the *Iliad*. The second *Nekyia* was probably composed independently by a son or pupil of Homer. Homer's vivid descriptions of lions indicate that he had himself observed lions at large. On almost every page Patroni has something unorthodox to suggest.

It will be clear from this necessarily curtailed selection from Patroni's Pandora's Box (the book amounts to about 300,000 words in all) that there is much material here for prolonged academic disputations. A detailed discussion obviously cannot be undertaken here. The fundamental question is whether there is any solid evidence for Patroni's appreciative portrait of these gentle, domesticated, and peace-loving (except when there is a vendetta on) 'Mediterraneans' with a common language and a written literature—a people benignly governed by mild rulers and a benevolent goddess until the sanguinary Achaeans invaded their territories. As for these war-loving Achaeans—is it not a fact that in the *Iliad* the Homeric heroes express their dislike of war as clearly as Homer himself does? At times Patroni's descriptions of the Mediterranean culture sound more apt for Utopia than for early Europe; and his references to the Achaeans suggest emotional reactions from a more recent manifestation of Nordic militarism.

Some of the arguments used on questions of style and composition make one uneasy about the author's judgement on less tangible topics. Thus, he based much of his differentiation between Homeric and pre-Homeric phrases in the hexameters on an alleged lateness of spondaic clausulae; but he admits in a belated note that he can no longer maintain this. His many detailed analyses of metrical groups are, in the reviewer's opinion, based on very dubious criteria. He re-divides the poem into twenty-seven books largely on the assumption that 450 lines was the normal length of a book. He adds the extraordinary remark that the division into twenty-four books was made by the Pisistratean *commissione di riordinamento* to correspond with the number of letters in the alphabet—but why should an early Athenian committee think in terms of the developed Ionic alphabet? And why, then, do no pre-Alexandrian writers cite the Homeric poems by books? He indulges, apparently in all seriousness, in naïve numerical interpretations of the quantity of lines in some books as rearranged by himself. For example, the number of lines in Book Thirteen (as he re-arranges it) is 423: 4 symbolises Odysseus himself, *il tetragono*, 2 symbolises reduplication, 3 symbolises perfection or divinity; so 423 means 'the beginning of the vendetta of the divine Ulysses'. Similarly 491 in *v* means 'here begins the vendetta prepared by Ulysses and Athena', 406 in *χ* means 'the greatest success of Ulysses', and 407 in *ω* 'the end of the *Odyssey*' (very aptly). Perhaps the writer did not realise that to imply that the Greeks in Homer's or Ptolemy's time understood the concept of zero was among the boldest of his suggestions.

Some of Patroni's interpretations of the text disregard the plainest meaning of the Greek to suit his own theory, e.g. when he takes *αἰών* in *ε* 152 as indicating that Odysseus must be younger than thirty-five, and assumes that *ἵππιστα* as applied to Nestor must refer to horse-riding not to chariot-driving. In search of 'Mediterranean' elements he sometimes presses Homer's phrases far beyond their contextual value, as in the case of Menelaus's references to Odysseus and his gift of horses to Telemachus, which are probably nothing more than the courtly flourishes of a self-satisfied prince. At other times if some plain statement of the poet conflicts with Patroni's theories, it is dismissed as one of the poet's more serious lapses.

Yet this is a book that every Homerist should study carefully. Even when its theories are most far-fetched they remain stimulating and suggestive. Many of the comments on details are illuminating and convincing. But every reader will be faced with a problem similar to Professor Patroni's own—



to determine how much is mere fantasy and how much is ascertainable fact in the work before him. At least all will agree that in nobility of style and thought this work is worthy of its subject.

W. B. STANFORD.

**Iliad Atheniensium: the Athenian Iliad of the sixth century B.C.** By G. M. BOLLING. Introduction 18 pages, text pages not numbered. Lancaster, Pa.: American Philological Association, 1950. Price not given.

Professor Bolling has happily realised the hope he expressed in *The Athetised Lines of the Iliad*: 'If time remained I should wish to print "for the use of scholars" an edition in which the text should be my reconstruction of  $\Pi$ , with the "plus" verses—plus verses in reference to this text—relegated to the critical apparatus'. He gives us an edition of the *Iliad* shorter by more than a thousand lines than the modern 'vulgate'. His omissions are largely based on the evidence afforded by the Alexandrian critics. For a thorough study of his text, it is essential to have before one his earlier works, *The External Evidence for Interpolation in Homer*, Oxford, 1925, and *The Athetised Lines of the Iliad*, Baltimore, 1944, where his arguments for the omission of passages are set out.

B. gives a brief and concise account of his position in his Introduction, and along with this may be read his article in *AJP* 1949, pp. 367-75, 'On editing the Homeric poems'. He holds the view that we may use the evidence furnished by the Alexandrians to reconstruct (to some extent at least, our knowledge of the work of the Alexandrians being far from complete) the single manuscript ( $\Pi$ ) written in Athens in the sixth century with which our tradition started. It would not be universally accepted that all our sources of information about the Homeric text do in fact derive from such a manuscript, but the case for believing so seems strong: cf. the admirable chapter on Peisistratus and the Homeric vulgate by P. Mazon in the Budé *Introduction à l'Iliade*, where he maintains that a manuscript may well have been brought by Hipparchus from Ionia. The unity of the tradition, which is remarkable for a poem like the *Iliad*, points to the existence at some stage of a single written source, and quite apart from the ancient testimony about Athenian activity in this matter in the sixth century, Athens is the obvious city which might have established and maintained a fixed text for a long time. The evidence of the Ptolemaic papyri strongly indicates the existence of a single source; their plus verses are to be explained as a fanning out of the tradition, and not by any means as the preservation of a different written tradition. What is remarkable about them is not their differences from the manuscript vulgate—striking though these may seem at first sight—but that these differences are not on a large scale, as they inevitably would be if the tradition had descended from more than one original written source. The success of this Athenian version, and the supremacy of Athens, resulted in the disappearance of other versions; but (as shown by the Ptolemaic papyri) interpolation gradually began, aided no doubt in places by the persistence of oral tradition, and continued until the standardisation of the text in the time of the Alexandrians.

Now B.'s argument does not depend upon or include the question of how this sixth-century manuscript came into being, whether it was 'recension, redaction, or original composition'. That problem he leaves outside the scope of his work, being only concerned to determine what lines are best attested as having been in the manuscript. He stresses that if we grant an Athenian manuscript of the sixth century to have been the single written source of our tradition, we are not thereby making any claim in the Higher Criticism. We are not proclaiming or denying the unity of Homer; we are not denying the possibility of interpolation before the sixth century; we are making no special claims for the excellence of this manuscript. But if we can reconstruct it with any degree of probability, we are pushing back by several centuries the antiquity of the tradition.

B.'s method of reconstruction depends on a number of postulates which he tests out in *The Athetised Lines of the Iliad*: he maintains that they are found by the tests to be satisfactory, that their consequences are tenable. Two of these are especially interesting: (i) that in the reconstruction of  $\Pi$  the shorter text is to be preferred; (ii) that neither Zenodotus nor Aristophanes nor Aristarchus would athetise a line unless its attestation in manuscripts seemed to him seriously defective. (i) B. finds a parallel in the Mahābhārata, and the obvious interpolations of the Ptolemaic papyri support him. His hypothesis, which is in itself highly reasonable, is not disproved in its testing; but it does not seem to me to be proved true, or to become anything higher in the scale of evidence than a

reasonable hypothesis. (ii) This is the crux of the matter: we have very little real evidence of the grounds on which the Alexandrians athetised. (I do not think that the explanations given by the scholia for the athetisation of lines—largely aesthetic or moral explanations—tell very much against B.: they may well be the grounds on which later commentators defended the athetisation of the Alexandrians, or they may even be additional arguments given by the Alexandrians for athetising badly attested lines). B. does indeed sometimes show that his hypothesis explains certain facts of the case, but more often he has to be content with the negative statement, 'And therefore there is no reason to believe that Aristarchus did not have manuscripts which omitted these lines'. It is indeed a question of where the burden of proof lies: B. often tells us that there is no sufficient reason to insert a certain passage, where his opponents will reply that there is no sufficient reason to excise it.

B. has done a great service in insisting that the manuscript vulgate must not be regarded as sacrosanct, and that passages which it includes, but against which evidence exists, must be considered with an open mind; but he has not proved conclusively that he is right in starting the other way round. The opposite hypothesis, that the readings of the Alexandrians are subjective conjectures, and that the vulgate is in the main reliable, has been strongly maintained by Dr. van der Valk in his *Textual Criticism of the Odyssey*, Leiden, 1949 (see Bolling's review in *AJP* 1950, pp. 306-11). This also works well in some of the cases he discusses, and can be shown to be possible in almost all. The question remains very open.

B.'s standpoint then must still be treated largely as hypothesis; I cannot yet feel convinced that the Alexandrians athetised only or even largely on documentary evidence. But however far we go with him in his conclusions, we owe a great debt to him for his discussions, in the two books which preceded his text, of passages which were not or may not have been present in the Alexandrian texts, or were present and were athetised. His expositions are full of relevant material handled in a most scholarly way, and contribute much to the understanding of the passages, whether we would omit them or not; and his text presents a general picture of the conclusions to which he is led. Many of the results of the detailed study of linguistics to which B. has devoted himself are incorporated in his edition, which consists of the Oxford Text with fairly numerous alterations of reading, especially of word-forms, and with the relegation to the apparatus of the passages which he regards as interpolations. It is incidentally a most pleasing piece of book production.

The challenging appearance of this new edition should go far towards stimulating the study of the tradition of the text, and at a time when new evidence may constantly be appearing, it is most valuable that the implications of B.'s hypothesis should be clearly before us. The gap between Aristarchus and Homer has still to be leapt rather than bridged, but it is right and proper that all methods of bridging it should be fully explored. It may be that the vulgate is after all the most satisfactory version of Homer that we can achieve, but we must not rest in that assumption. B.'s reconstruction of the sixth-century manuscript will not meet, I think, with general approval; but it is of the utmost importance to Homeric scholarship that it should have been made.

R. D. WILLIAMS.

**Aeschylus, Agamemnon.** Edited with a Commentary by EDUARD FRAENKEL. 3 vols: 1, Prolegomena, text, translation, pp. xv + 195, 2 plates. 2, Commentary on 1-1055. 3, Commentary on 1056-1673, appendices, indexes; together pp. viii + 850 (continuous pagination). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950. £4 4s.

This long-awaited edition is perhaps the most erudite that any Greek play has ever had. The Prolegomena, which extend to eighty-five pages, are confined to technical matters—the MS. tradition, some editions which for one reason or another are considered especially worthy of mention, and the contributions of sundry eminent scholars to the criticism of the play. It spends no space over the vague aesthetic criticism which so often takes up the corresponding section of an edition of any classic, and is full of information not readily come by and sound evaluations of the work of earlier researchers. The text is conservative, at times, I think, too much so; for instance, I would assume small lacunae (generally of a line or two) oftener than the editor does. It is faced with an English translation which makes no pretence to be more than a supplement to the commentary, a plain indication of how the Greek is to be construed, not of how, given sufficient poetical powers, it might be adequately reproduced in a foreign dress. Stage-directions, brief and useful, accompany



it. There are, of course, full critical notes under the translation that 'the text is uncertain', or that another rendering is possible, or the like. I list, without comment, a few disputed passages. Line 7 is bracketed, as in most editions; at 57, a short lacuna is supposed after *μετοίκων*; at 70, *οὐτε δεκρύνων* is retained, but the latter word obelised; at 103, no emendation is accepted, the text being simply marked corrupt. In 125, *τ'* is in square brackets; at 145, *σπουδῶν* is treated in the same way; at 182, *βιαιῶς* is retained. At 287, Ahrens' *ἰχθῆς* is rejected, but a lacuna indicated after the line. In 304 and 308 the readings of M are kept in the text, but marked corrupt; so with the reading of F in 346. 405 again is simply marked corrupt, but at 412-3 Hermann's well-known conjecture is printed. At 426 the obolus comes into play again, *καλέσθης* being left unchanged but branded, not unjustly, in the apparatus criticus as *valde suspectum*. 527 is in square brackets, 539 marked corrupt, but 547 emended by Schütz' conjecture, *ὁμοῦ στῆγος* for *στῆγος στρατῶ*. In 551, *ταῦτα δ'* have the dagger; 570-2 are bracketed. In 598, *ο'* *ἰσὶ* is accepted from the tradition. In 605, Weil's insertion of *δ'* before *ἦσαν* is printed, also the like conjecture (Headlam) in 613, after *τῆς*. Auratus' conjecture, *ναυτικοὶ τ' ἐρεμιοί*, is printed in 660. 714 and 715 are left corrupt; in 730 Bothe's *ὅν* *δ* *ταῖς* is read, Schneider's *μέσσοι* not even being mentioned. 766-8 are left unemended, 803 marked corrupt, a lacuna supposed in 806-7 between *εὐφρων* and *πόνος*. Brackets condemn both 863 and 871, the same treatment being given to 900 and 902, with the comment that 'huc non pertinere manifestum est'. 925 is also cut out. By a combination of Weil's and Wecklein's suggestions, 943 appears as *πῶδ' κροταῖς μέντοι παρὰς [γ'] ἰσὶ*. In 980 no emendation is judged necessary; *ψάμπος ἀμύρα* (Wecklein and Wilamowitz) is accepted in 985, but the hurts of 1001-2 left unhealed. The first half of 1052 is regarded as corrupt, also the latter half of 1057, and 1058 is bracketed. Brackets again enclose the *α'* before 1090, corruption is indicated, a little doubtfully, in 1099, and once more at 1172 (*θερμόνους*). *πόλιν* in 1200 is likewise condemned, 1216 regarded as having lost its last metron, *ὥσπερ* obelised in 1219, 1226 bracketed, but 1235 left standing as in the MSS. and justified in the commentary. Omissions suggested by Wilamowitz make 1256-7 two iambic dimeters with ejaculations preceding them; *πρόσω* in 1289 is declared corrupt, 1290 bracketed without proposing its transposition, *χρόνον πᾶν* rejected in 1299. 1324-5 have the signs of corruption before *τοῖς* and after *δμοῦ*, because 'graves corruptelae latent, quibus quot uerba affecta sint accuratius definiri nequit'. *ἀλλων* is considered corrupt in 1339, 1341 and 1347 completed respectively by Schneidewin's *ἔξελύσσο* and Enger's *ἦ*. The last word of 1359 and the first of 1378 are left standing as in the MSS., but marked corrupt. *σφαγῆν* in 1389 carries the dagger, as does *ἐνῆς* in 1447. After sundry small corrections, mostly metrical, in the intervening lines, 1498 is declared corrupt, 1521-2 retained with a lacuna postulated after them and another after 1526, the last two words of which (*τ' ἰργέναν*) are condemned, with the note 'hoc loco ab Aeschilo non scriptum'. 1595 is broken by a lacuna; 1600 is in brackets, the end of 1657 marked corrupt, and some new doubts raised over the concluding couplet.

Plainly there is nothing very startling in all this, nor departing widely from the sounder readings of earlier editors. Of his own suggestions Professor Fraenkel has been very sparing, receiving few or none into his text. Most of the emendations he does accept have stood the slightly ambiguous test of long usage, which does indeed generally support a good alteration by the accumulated judgement of generations of scholars but sometimes gives a bad one a kind of spurious prescriptive right. Most texts have some of these at 1228-9; Fraenkel retains but one, Canter's comparatively harmless *καταβόσας*. It is a different question if he always takes the correct or the most likely view of the meaning of the text he has established. I mention a few instances, favourable and other, of how he renders the Greek; stylistic points are deliberately omitted, since he makes no pretence to anything but a faithful rendering, but in fact the general tone of his English is good, often happy, never undignified. As early as line 17 we have a departure from most versions which the commentary abundantly justifies; it is rendered 'tapping (as sap from a root) this medicine of song against sleep'. Line 50 becomes 'in extreme grief for their children'. This, I think, quite misses the sense of *καταβόσας*. I believe the adjective to mean that the scene of the vultures (or whatever the exact species of the birds may be), their grief and their robbed nest takes place in a lonely spot, 'away from the paths' where men usually go; and that the fact that the particular word it agrees with signifies 'grief'

and not, for instance, 'bird' or 'nest' is irrelevant, in the somewhat easy-going syntax of a Greek poet of the best age. At 123-5 we have, 'Now when the wise seer of the army saw the two Atreidae, twain in temper, he knew the warlike devourers of the hare for the conducting chiefs'. Again I disagree, and would translate rather 'saw the two (birds), of different temper, he recognised the two warlike sons of Atreus in the devourers of the hare'. A little later, in 129, *μολα* is rendered 'fate'; I think it far more likely that it is simply 'apportionment', 'dividing of the spoil'. In 276, the sense is on any reasonable explanation doubtful, for we are not sure what Aeschylus supposed Homer to mean by *ἀπτερος μῦθος*, and consequently what its connotation in fifth-century poetry might be; that a Homericism, or what Cahen likes to call a *paene Homericum*, exists here is hardly to be doubted. But I am far from convinced by the editor's rendering 'Can it be then that some swift-winged rumour has made thy wit grow thick?' However, he defends it in notes extending to nearly two pages, and to these the reader is referred.

In 302 and 303 Fraenkel refuses to see any proper names, rendering 'and the light shot down over the Gorgon-eyed lake and reaching the mountain of the roaming goats', etc., again justifying himself in a lengthy note, the beginning of which at all events no one is likely to quarrel with: 'Poets are not always kind to their interpreters, or to topographers looking for straightforward identifications'. I disagree with the translation of 457, 'it [the angry talk of the citizens] pays the debt arising out of a curse pronounced by the people', and side with the views of Paley and others which the note on the passage rejects. The Chorus mean, in my opinion, to say that anyone who has made himself so unpopular as Agamemnon (see 458 ff.) is in as parlous a position as if he had been cursed in due form; the mutterings about the war and its causes are so to speak the curse's factor or business agent and have made payment on its behalf, a strange but understandable example of the commercial metaphors not uncommon in Greek. It is strange that an editor generally so ready to see the true relation to one another of the clauses has gone wrong in 448 and does not recognise that *ἀλλοτρίος διὰ γυναικός* is a quotation, the one faintly audible bit of what the people mutter. His note there shows that he is here an *ἐκὼν ἀμαρτάνων*, whether *ἀμαρτάνων* therefore or not. In his rendering of 637 I think him definitely wrong; he translates 'such a celebration is apart from the gods (of heaven)'. 'Celebration' might pass muster as an equivalent of *τιμῆ*, and the long note on the passage clearly expounds the difficulty of making *ἡ τιμῆ θεῶν* mean *ἡ θεῶν τιμῆ*, but that *θεοὶ per se* can mean *superi* remains unproved. But, right or wrong, the editor deserves thanks (as in many other places) for honestly calling attention to a difficulty. Whether his own interpretation is right or wrong is, in such places, of less moment. At 806 the translation gives what is a possible and even likely supplement to the defective text, 'now deeply and in true friendship loyal (do I approve of the old saying, 'sweet' is labour to those who have brought it to a good end'. At 838-40 punctuation (colon after *λέγου' ὦν*, no point after *σπᾶς*) and translation are interesting; he renders 'for I am well acquainted with that mirror, intercourse—I may pronounce image of a shadow those who seem most devoted to me'. At 972, *ἀνδρός τελευτοῦ* becomes 'consummate master'. Does it really mean more than 'husband'? 1025-6 are rendered, 'did not established destiny prevent my portion from winning more from the gods', which certainly is a grammatical possibility, but I doubt if it be the most likely sense. 1099 is interpreted to mean 'we seek none of those who speak in the name of the gods'. But is it not rather 'we need no one to interpret your prophecies', i.e., what you have said so far is perfectly clear? I cannot agree with the translation 'without cries of woe' for *καταβόσας* *ἄνθρωποι* in 1148. By all tradition, the nightingale's song is melancholy, and Fraenkel recognises this in his note. His interpretation (Vol. III, p. 526) is that the bird does not cry with pain, 'since she was mercifully rescued at the last moment from the most terrible fate, death by the sharp blade', and he cites Soph., *Ai.* 629 ff., where the nightingale's lament is contrasted with the screams of a mother just told of the death of her son. I think this presses the special meaning of *καταβόσας* and its cognates too hard, and prefer to suppose that *ἄνθρωποι* means 'except for', as it does in Pindar, *Nem.* 7, 27 (Aias is the foremost Greek warrior *Ἀχιλλεύς ἄνθρωπος ἡρώς ab Achille secundus*). At 1235, *Ἀἰδου μητρί* is translated 'hellish mother', and the difficulties discussed in a long note; but it seems to me that the central difficulty of the phrase is not touched. Hades' mother is a perfectly familiar mythological figure, Rhea, whom Klytaimnestra does not resemble in the least. At 1272, a long discussion in the note results in Fraenkel taking the solution of the none too easy phrase *οὐ διχορροπῶς*



παρρη which is probably the most satisfactory; he renders, 'and their delusion clear beyond doubt'. At 1332, it is surprising that he falls into the common error of altering the accentuation of δακτυλοδεικτών and translates 'bars it from a hall whereat men's fingers point'. His reason is, in my opinion, quite off the point, 'the gesture . . . is coarse and highly abusive, and no one could possibly think of using it against Nemesis'. But Nemesis is neither mentioned nor implied, and if she were, Aeschylus says that people do not use that gesture. To borrow a phrase from Juvenal (*Sat.* X, 53), a bold man might *medium ostendere unguem* to Mala Fortuna, but the tragedian says that no one does so to Bona. 1434 is understood in a way which may well be right, 'it is not within the house of Fear that Expectancy sets foot'. At 1595, Fraenkel is certainly right in supposing that something is missing, but wrong, I feel, in placing the lacuna after ἔσθ' ἄνδρες. Whatever Thyestes did to the easily recognisable parts of his victims, the hands, feet (and heads, of which surely a mention has fallen out), he did not break or cut them up small, which is what the verb implies, but kept them, as Astyages did those of Harpagos' son, *Hdt.* I, 119, 4. The missing words came rather after κτείνε, and meant something like 'and the heads he set aside, but the rest of the flesh', etc., though this does not exhaust the corruptions of a badly mishandled passage.

Supposing that all the above objections are justified, the result is, that in about a dozen passages, considerably less than one line in a hundred, the editor's judgement is at fault. In some others I have cited, and hundreds which I have not, he is right, or probably right, often against a more or less widespread opinion which he shows to be wrong. I have not attempted to differentiate passages in which he puts forward a new opinion of his own and those in which he adopts and defends the views of some earlier scholar; in interpretation as in reading he is modest about recommending his personal views, and he never claims a higher degree of certainty than is obtainable. I have subjected translation and commentary alike to what I consider an acid test, that of keeping them continually before me while lecturing on the play, and they have come well out of the ordeal.

As to the commentary itself, it is impossible in the nature of the case to criticise it in detail; a series of disconnected or loosely connected propositions filling 832 pages (counting appendices and *addenda et corrigenda*) would need some hundreds of pages to deal with them at all minutely. It is of the kind which a large edition of a difficult classic should always have. Every point, grammatical, mythological, aesthetic, dramatic, etc., which arises is dealt with in full, a resumé being given of the principal views which have been taken by former commentators, whether editors of the play or not, and Fraenkel's own opinion, often more than not agreement with some of his predecessors, plainly stated. It is not meant for learners struggling with the play for the first time and wanting to be told that this is the only possible, or that the most likely way to understand a passage, but for mature scholars, capable of forming opinions of their own, ready to agree or disagree with the one they find expressed, and asking chiefly that they be furnished with all the available material for confirming or revising their judgements. These will discover that very little which is relevant has been omitted; at 115 ff. I have not found evidence of use of E. Scheer's article (in *Rhein. Mus.* LXVIII, 1912) on the hunting technicalities in the text, but have noticed nothing else of the least importance. If the notes decline at all from strict impartiality towards all matters of interest, it is perhaps towards grammar that they lean, but other matters are by no means neglected, and without a precise understanding of the meanings of the words and their relations to one another, loose thinking and wild interpretation are apt to result, perhaps cloaked by some specious aesthetic or other theory.

Altogether, this is one of the few works on a philological subject of which it may be said with confidence that its value is permanent. Henceforth, no library intended for use by really serious students of the *Agamemnon*, Aeschylus, or Greek Tragedy in general can be without it.

H. J. ROSE.

**The Philosophy of Anaxagoras:** An attempt at reconstruction. By FELIX M. CLEVE. New York: Pp. xi + 168. King's Crown Press, Columbia University, 1949. 16s.

Mr. Cleve has taken, he tells us, some thirty years to meditate this book. These years include the political upheavals which exiled the author from the Continent of Europe and sent him to his new home in the United States. To bear these facts in mind helps us to understand both the merits

and defects of the book. It is deeply pondered but not up to date nor always free from faults of scholarship. Recent English contributions to the subject, by Cornford, Peck, and Bailey, are neglected. We seem to be back in a Continental atmosphere of a generation ago watching Mr. Cleve angrily pick a bone with Diels. But the argument is conducted in close relation to the surviving Greek material by a man of wide philosophical culture and large views who, though writing in a language not his own, often achieves an austere beauty springing from the quality of his devotion to the philosopher of his choice.

Mr. Cleve's admiration for Anaxagoras recalls that of Tannéry. Readers of the relevant chapter in *Pour l'histoire de la science Hellène* will not have forgotten the terms in which Tannéry pays homage to *L'Homme et le Savant*. Mr. Cleve is in this tradition. His enthusiasm for Anaxagoras is such that he couches his more general conclusions regarding him in the form of *vers libres*—an odd feature in the book, but not without its contribution to its moving effect.

Tannéry adopted the view, maintained also in all the editions of Ritter and Preller down to the ninth and last, that the system of Anaxagoras was prior to that of Empedocles. Whether it has improved matters to reverse this order is far from certain. Certainly it was not right to do as Diels did, namely bring the career of Anaxagoras at Athens down to the thirty years after 456. In spite of Taylor's paper *On the Date of the Trial of Anaxagoras* (*CQ* IX, 81 ff.), this view, which does so much to distort the history of Greek thought, still survives. We may be grateful, then, to Mr. Cleve, who in this as in other matters is a follower of Tannéry, for reacting violently against it. But it is a pity that he accepts from G. F. Unger (*Die Zeitverhältnisse des Anaxagoras und Empedocles*, *Philologus* IV, Suppl., 511 ff.), whose work I have not been able to consult, a dating for Anaxagoras' career that seems as much too early as Diels' is too late, and develops an intemperate hostility to Empedocles that is the obverse of his reverence for Anaxagoras.

A follower of Tannéry both in his admiration for Anaxagoras and in dating his system before that of Empedocles, Mr. Cleve also revives and develops—it is the main success of his work—the Tannéry-Burnet view, that the 'things' of which Anaxagoras said that everything contains a portion were not different forms of matter (flesh, blood, bone, etc.), but the opposites (hot-cold, light-dark, etc.). To quote Mr. Cleve's own formulation: *Anaxagoras considers these 'qualities' themselves the ultimate elements of the world. To him so-called matter is not a carrier of these qualities, but these are themselves that 'matter'.* His judgement on the doctrine of Nous is of no less significance. He rejects the Platonic and Aristotelian view of it as a sort of *deus ex machina* brought in when the plot had got out of hand, and concludes that for Anaxagoras Nous is always everywhere. 'Neither Plato nor Aristotle has noticed that precisely all those ostensibly preposterous and senseless things, those *ἀτομα καὶ ἀνόητα*, are original and own performances of Nous, that all this perichoresis continues only so long as Nous itself keeps on rotating, and that no organism can keep alive unless Nous keeps it going'.

Apart from these important and well-argued conclusions Mr. Cleve makes valuable contributions also in detail. He has rightly drawn attention to the omission by Burnet of a relevant testimony to the relation of Empedocles to Anaxagoras, and, apart from the quarrel over dating, he scores a further point or two against Diels. But he also commits blunders indicative, perhaps, of those interruptions of his studies at which we have guessed. In his anxiety to correct Diels he goes too far (pp. 125-6) in giving to the aorist *ἀποκρίσθαι* a continuous sense. To Aristotle's words *τῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν μίξις ἐστὶ καὶ χωρίσμός* he wishes to attach the meaning (p. 145): *for of these themselves (only) is there a mixing and separation*. Here one can only turn certain words of his own against himself. 'One may doubt whether this can still be called a translation'.

B. FARRINGTON.

**The Medical Works of Hippocrates.** A new translation from the original Greek made especially for English readers by the collaboration of JOHN CHADWICK and W. N. MANN. Pp. vii + 301. Oxford: Blackwell. 20s.

The authors of this book, one a scholar the other a physician, have devoted ten years to its preparation. Their purpose was 'to enable the medical student or doctor, and indeed all who are interested in the beginnings of science, to gain first-hand acquaintance with early Greek medicine'. They have made not a bad choice of some fourteen Hippocratic writings. The translation is fresh and readable and over long stretches tolerably accurate. I read *The Sacred Disease* and *The Nature of Man*, for example, without misgiving.



But the version will not throughout stand up to the test of a close examination. Its scholarship is sometimes suspect. There is little sign of awareness of the difficulties inherent in making any valid contribution to the understanding of early science. There is sometimes an absence even of common sense. Thus in the writing here called *The Science of Medicine*, we get the following information (chap. 10): 'The divisions of the body may be likened to a series of vessels, each containing within it various organs, some of which are harmful and some beneficial to their possessor'. This physiological theory would have seemed very strange to the Hippocratic writer and he may be exonerated from responsibility for it by consulting the Greek, where no equivalent of the word *organs* will be found. The tract *On Ancient Medicine*, here called, not badly, *The Tradition of Medicine*, contains information still more surprising. Here (chap. 19) we read of a discharge from the eyes which 'destroys anything it may touch even eating away the clothes around the face'. W. H. S. Jones thought that the sense of the Greek here was 'eating through the covering of the eyeball', and since the Loeb edition of this author is one of the very few books referred to by the new translators it is a pity they did not ask themselves whether his rendering had the greater propriety.

It would be possible to find other similar lapses. It is not therefore surprising, but it is most regrettable, that the opening chapter of *Ancient Medicine* should be beset with inaccuracies and misunderstandings. It was above all to be desired that this key passage in the history of early science should survive intact.

B. FARRINGTON.

**Hippocrate, l'Ancienne Médecine: Introduction, Traduction et Commentaire.** Par A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE. Pp. xxxiv + 79. Paris: Klincksieck, 1948. No price given.

Many qualities combine to invest the work of Festugière with its rare distinction. In addition to accuracy and range of scholarship he has the gift of enthusiasm; while his various studies seem united by a common purpose, the renewal of faith in human knowledge. He sifts the tradition of thought as one who believes in its ultimate validity. Particularly gratifying is it, then, that he should have directed his powers of interpretation to a text so worthy of his attention as *Ancient Medicine*.

A. E. Taylor's *Varia Socratica* (1911) turned the eyes of my generation to this work. The appearance (1922) of the first volume of W. H. S. Jones's *Loeb Hippocrates* gave us a convenient text and interpretation. Jones at that time remarked that the treatise, though much discussed, had never had a separate edition. This defect he himself made good in 1946 with his *Philosophy and Medicine in Ancient Greece* (The Johns Hopkins Press). This added something to the excellent contribution he had already made. To study Festugière, however, is to be made to understand how much still remained to be done for the elucidation of the text. F. has been for the most part content to reprint Heiberg's text. It is in the commentary, to which the translation is subsidiary, that the strength of his work resides.

His method, the historical determination of the meaning of the key words, is nothing novel, but it is carried out with superb competence. No trouble is spared to discover what the writer understood by ὑπόθεσις, τέχνη, δημιουργός, ἰστορίη, and so forth. Ten large pages of close print are devoted to the interpretation of the twenty lines of the first chapter. But by then the reader is in a position to understand the advance in theory and practice signalled by this little work. We are the more grateful when we remember the mists in which the subject was involved. Taylor, excitedly barking up the wrong tree, was bent on proving from this work that the Ideal Theory antedated Plato. F. shows (confirming in this the conclusions of Gillespie and Jones) that the occurrence in Chapter XV of the famous phrase αὐτὸ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ θερμὸν . . . μηδὲν ἄλλω εἶδει κοινῶν, uniting so many apparently Platonic terms, does not justify the argument based on it by Taylor. These terms all have a long history in Greek, and the fact that they bear a certain meaning within the context of Plato's writings does not prove that they bore that meaning previously outside that context. The clearing up of this confusion prepares the way for a further advance. The vexed problem of a possible reference to *Ancient Medicine* in the *Phaedrus* is decided in the negative.

But these points are only incidental to the analysis of the positive content of the treatise. The establishment, if not yet of an experimental method, at least of an observational science is so important in the history of human thought and human society that it is difficult to withhold from *Ancient Medicine*

the epithet *Lucretius* applied to the old Greek thinkers of his choice. *Ancient Medicine* is among our sacred books. And if it be true that the origins of human science are destined to claim in the future a larger place in our studies, Festugière's book will take its place among the creative works in this field.

The printing is most accurate. I found an accent dropped (p. 10, l. 22), a definite article missing (p. 16, l. 2), a wrong breathing (p. 21, l. 10).

B. FARRINGTON.

**Euripide, Tome v. Hélène, Les Phéniciennes.** Texte établi et traduit par H. GRÉGOIRE ET L. MÉRIDIER, avec la collaboration de F. CHAPOUTHIER. Pp. 226. Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres', 1950. Fr. 600.

Prose versions of Euripides are badly needed, so, in spite of shortcomings, one welcomes the Budé *Phoenissae*. At its best it reflects the competence of the late M. L. Méridier, who on his untimely death in 1933 had left translation, introduction, and notes in definitive form. M. Chapouthier has added notes, the most useful of which are on the art-evidence (pp. 181, n. 2, 197, n. 1, 202, n. 2)<sup>1</sup> and claims responsibility for the revision of text and apparatus. The choice of readings (presumably his) is for the most part judicious, if unadventurous; closer acquaintance with recent literature would have improved the result considerably. Thus while Pearson's edition of 1909 is freely drawn on, no use is made of Powell's uneven (but in places penetrating) work of 1911; this might have prompted a note on the probable spuriousness of 1104-40 and 1221-58 and a better comment on the relation of *Phoen.* 1595 ff. to *Ar. Ran.* 1182 ff. than that on p. 145. Apart from improvements in 186 (*Μακρήντης φησιν*) and 349 (*ἰσθδω*), the correct νόμιμον might have been preferred to the specious μόνιμον in 538 and the half-measures of Wilamowitz and Verrall in 710/1 discarded.

Schroeder's *Cantica* (1910) should have shown how to eliminate the unsatisfactory responson of πυρόδωρ in 643 to Κῆρυξ in 663,<sup>2</sup> that results from Valckenaer's correction. Knowledge of D. L. Page's *Actors' Interpolations in Greek Tragedy* (1930) might have led to reconsideration of lines such as 27, 372, 548 (Byzantine forgery?), 778, 1101, 1183/5 (here perhaps only 1184 need go), 1369-71. Most serious of all is the reviser's failure to incorporate a reference to Kitto's article of 1939 (*CR* LIII, 1939, 104 ff.) in dealing with the interpolated last scene (1582-end).<sup>3</sup> This, easily the best treatment so far, while not claiming to clear up all details, offers a convincing rationale for the contamination of the two mutually inconsistent denouements that underlie our text. Kitto or no Kitto, the remark on lines 1758/63 on p. 145 of the introduction demands that these at least be enclosed within square brackets, whatever else is to be done.

Editorial judgement is at fault, I think, in suppressing mention of the anonymous conjecture φύλακας for φυλάδας in 1168; this is supported by the verb ἐπίστησις in 1170, a *vox propria* for posting sentries. Other suggestions that should be kept alive in the apparatus, even if not promoted to the text, include Hermann's εὐσπένησκον in 1438, Schmidt's πορείας in 1694, Battier's εἶσι in 1546, and others, perhaps with weaker claim, in lines 473, 639/40, 1151, 1190, 1722, and 1730. The wisdom of adopting Weil's αἰθεροφάνης in 1543 (no help to metre), Porson's δόμοισιν in 502, and a few other conjectures may be doubted.

The translation, so far as an *étranger* can judge, is clear and accurate: I only noted details such as failure to bring out the force of τῷ in 200 and the conative present δοομίζε in 993. The apparatus is concise and accurate, but in spite of regular citation of ten papyri, much shorter than, e.g. Murray's. One misses *testimonia*, as later quotations in so widely read a play often have an interest, even when not vital to the settling of the text. In a second impression it would be well to indicate the papyri by suffix-numbers: Π and Π' (especially when the latter is mis-printed, as in 534, as Π') are not satisfactory signs for distinguishing two documents that happen to preserve the same passage.

The *Helena* has always appealed to critics of a speculative turn of mind, and Prof. Grégoire does not disappoint on this count. His forty-six-page Introduction could have been

<sup>1</sup> It is a pity that he did not refer to the vase in *JHS* VIII, 322 f. in regard to v. 1507.

<sup>2</sup> This also occurred, Powell says, to Woelfflin.

<sup>3</sup> Schroeder offered, by transposition, πυρόδωρ νῦν Ἀδωνος | πᾶσι ἔχρη τὸ θέσφατον (642/3); for ἔχρη τὸ it might be better to keep ἔχρησε of MSS. and dispense with the article.

<sup>4</sup> Curiously Kitto does not refer to vv. 1447/8, which surely give strong support to his main contention.



pruned to the length normal in the Budé series without sacrifice of essential information, for few will accept his exaggerated emphasis on politics and Sicilian matters on which he places considerable weight in his general interpretation of the play, fewer still his fanciful association of Evagoras of Salamis with Teucer; this scene has its own *raison d'être* without the need for so far-fetched a hypothesis.<sup>5</sup>

His text, set out with apparatus and full testimonia, is not unduly adventurous, but is spoiled by two crass metrical errors, the first an unlucky supplement for 186, <ἀ Λάσαν' ἐν>, which must correspond to the three syllables of *μουσία* in 173; the second is line 974, which reads *κρίσσω φανίσαν τὰν ἀποδοῦναι λέχη*.<sup>6</sup> He shows, especially in the choruses, marked dependence on Murray: his view on the difficult 'Mountain Mother' ode (1301-68) and the supplements he proposes for the last antistrophe do not, I think, take account of all the evidence that can be brought to bear on the aetiology of the piece. Among his other emendations, none impress: samples are: φίλοις (φυγίς L), 90: ἔρπον (ἔρπον L), 289: σύριγγ' αἰδοῦν σβίζοντι (συραγγ' αἰδοῖαι σβίζον L), 358: [ἦν] . . . ἐπώσις secl.: ἥθεος (ἐν θεοῖς L), 388/9: Φρυγῶν . . . γύσις (θεῶν . . . πυρρῇ), 936: τήνδ' (τήν τ' L), 924: ἔχων (Ἀχαιῶν L), 1127. I doubt especially his re-writing of 1164, his cures for 1512 and 1590 and his ἐπ' in anastrophe in 854, while I am puzzled by his note in the apparatus on 379. It is surprising to find Pearson's conjecture at 1080 and Verrall's ἀπὸνους at 1321<sup>7</sup> rejected, but Nauck's specious *καυτίμους* adopted at 112. To be consistent with his note on p. 87, 905 should be in square brackets; in another printing the false reference in the note on p. 67 should be rectified.

The translation misses, in my reading of it, the effect of some lines: e.g. the doubled *καὶ* in 125 is lost, 299 is wrongly taken as a wish, in 993 he renders something different from his text; and there are other blemishes. His notes are lengthy and not always relevant, but some (e.g. that on Sirens in 169 and that on cranes in 1495) are interesting. A reference on 116 to art-representations of Menelaus' meeting with Helen (e.g. the Dwarf Painter's vase in Beazley, *ARV*, 65: (4)) would have been in point.

Though therefore notwithstanding shortcomings the work has its uses, it leaves no doubt of the need for much judicious scholarship in elucidating this difficult play.

JOHN G. GRIFFITH.

**Euripides, Helena.** Edited with Commentary and General Remarks by A. Y. CAMPBELL. University of Liverpool, 1950. Pp. xviii + 172. 12s. 6d.

This work is hardly an edition so much as a series of comments on conjectures of others interlarded with jottings in support of the 120 or more corrections of his own that the author sees fit to exhibit. A slight preface, a characteristically wayward text and some remarks on the play complete the gallimaufry. Little or nothing to the point is said on cardinal problems of exegesis or the relation of this play to the very similar *I.T.*, nor does Campbell give any indication of familiarity with literature that might have illuminated his path in these matters. They are, one must suppose, too unspectacular for him; his interest lies elsewhere. In his re-writing of the text he is at least consistent with his own heretical dogma (p. 82) 'it is a precarious matter to emend single items in corrupt contexts'. Thus he will not tamper with one word if a whole phrase can be transformed by his caprice: to take random examples: *νεκρῶν . . . ὀνόματι* (399) becomes <Τ>εκρῶν . . . ἔναρ τοῖς οἰκίαις. And (ὅταν) *πράξη κακῶς ὑψηλὸς εἰς ἀθήναι* | *πίπτει* . . . (418) emerges as *πίπτει βεβῶς ὑψηλὸς εἰς ἀθήναι* | *πράσσει*. In 433 *ἐκ δὲ μὴ χόντων βίον* is twisted and expanded to *ἐκ δὲ μὴ, <πολλὰ λαμβάνει> πληρώμα γὰρ κῶς οἱ σπανίζοντες βίον*, while *ταῦτα ταῦτ' ἔπη καλῶς λέγεις* | *ἔξιστιν πείσομαι γὰρ* (441) undergoes a metamorphosis to *χαῖνα ταῦτ' ἐμοὶ δ' ἀπλῶς λέγειν* | *ἔξιστ' ἐπείγομαι γὰρ*. All this within the space of fifty lines. So the emendational bacchanal proceeds, culminating in an orgy of fourteen corrections in the nine lines 1325/33.

Not content with leaving no single obelus, he cannot acquiesce in the modest decency of dots to mark a lacuna, real or imaginary, but must foist on Euripides some eight trimeters, none good and the worst (e.g. his 149a) banal. He will gratify a preconceived idea of continuity by the wholesale

transposition of strophe β and antistrophe β in the first stasimon. He will do much else which the curious may explore for themselves. They should, however, note that the evidence is not always accurately presented: in line 98 there stands in part, at least, of our tradition the little word *οἶ*, *extra metrum* in stichomythia. It may perhaps seem spurious to a casual reader, but had C. looked up Jebb's note on *Soph. Tr.* 425 he must have paused, for the hesitation is in point: is Helen in this play to tell a chance-comer of an old love-affair of hers? But trampled underfoot in the plethora of emendation, *οἶ* has vanished from the text without so much as a word of obituary in the commentary.

The hunt within this jungle for suggestions deserving of favourable comment is not made any more agreeable by the recurrent petulancies and stylistic affectations with which C. commends his brain-children, e.g. his note on 289: 'This line has been a notorious crux. My own mind is now at rest about it; but this kind cometh not out save by prayer and fasting', or on 679 '... having spotted *ἄσπερον* I knew that even the last two feet would surrender in time, but it required no little experimentation . . . let the handbooks say that emendation is a modern invention; I use my common sense', or on p. 134 '... destroy the peoples for mortals, dative of disadvantage, Smith major, full marks . . .'. And how shall a reviewer deal condignly with the following portentous ebullition?—

'Thus do all things work together for good to those who really do believe in scholarship; who understanding the formal and essentially monumental character of these ancient literary documents (so profoundly unlike our own) ignore no evidence whatever of metre, grammar, rhetoric, idiosyncrasy, common-sense or anything, because they have discovered from experience what only experience can teach, that these superficial, half-mechanical, half-psychological disfigurements can be undone; that in 95 instances out of 100 the problems, provided they are thrown wide open and tackled methodically and (by experiment) exhaustively, can be pushed to a conclusion that is in all essentials decisive' (p. 66).

JOHN G. GRIFFITH.

**Studies in Menander.** By T. B. L. WEBSTER. Pp. xi + 238. Manchester: University Press, 1950. 25s.

In spite of the amount of research carried out during the last twenty-five years on the text of Menander, notably, of course, by Körte, whose third edition appeared in 1938, but also by Cantarella, Coppola, Drexler, De Falco, Gomme, Kuiper, Post, and many others, and in spite of the stimulus to general interest in Menander provided by Murray's translations and reconstructions of the *Perikeiromene* and the *Epitrepontes*, there has been no recent attempt to present a complete study of Menander and a systematic analysis of his work. Webster's book is, therefore, especially valuable, enabling the reader, as it does, 'to follow the path through the best preserved Greek plays to the larger papyrus fragments, and from these to the Latin plays, starting with those which are most easily accepted as true to Menander and ending with those which seem further off'.

The book is an expansion of a series of six lectures delivered between 1945 and 1948, the first four of which have been published in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*. The first chapter deals with the Life and Times of Menander, the *Perikeiromene*, and the 'Plays of Reconciliation'. The second, 'Restorations in Menander', which was reviewed by Gomme in *CR* LXI, 94, discusses principally the *Heros*, *Epitrepontes*, *Samia*, and *Georgos*. The subject of the third is another of Webster's groups of plays (a grouping which to some extent must overlap), the 'Plays of Social Criticism', which include the *Kolax*, *Eunouchos*, *Andria*, *Perinthia*, and others. An appendix contains a skilful attempt to arrange forty-four plays into a chronological framework. The fourth, entitled 'Plays of Adventure and Satire', is concerned with the *Apistos* (which Webster regards as the original of the *Aulularia*), the *Dis Exapaton*, the *Karchedonios*, and the *First Adelphei*. In the fifth chapter, Webster traces the influence on Menander of earlier drama, mainly Classical Tragedy and Middle Comedy (in discussing which he makes full use of the evidence of South Italian Vases). He then estimates the effect of Aristotelian dramatic theory on Menander's dramaturgy and of the ethical writings of the Peripatetic school on his characterisation. The final chapter appraises Menander's position in relation to contemporary philosophical concepts. Menander was not bound by Peripatetic principles; no influence on him of Stoicism or Epicureanism can be demonstrated. But his comedy has a new seriousness, the result of the impact of philosophy. The book has a full index, and a very useful *index locorum*.

<sup>5</sup> Teucer's reactions on seeing Helen in Egypt prepare the audience for the similar situation some 300 lines later when Menelaus is confronted with her.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Maas, who saw the work in proof, called attention to this error, so the blame is entirely Grégoire's.

<sup>7</sup> Again in spite of Maas, who accepts, rightly, surely, this *addendum lexicis*.



There are many points of detail in this book with which scholars will disagree, and naturally so, when reconstructions are not susceptible of proof, except by still further discoveries of papyri. It is not within the scope of a short review to excerpt such points of future disagreement. But it is relevant to refer to Gomme's discussion (CR LXI, 94) of Webster's suggestion (p. 36) that Simias in the *Epitrepontes* is a slave. Gomme notes that in the only scene in which Simias certainly appears, the words  $\sigma\upsilon\omega\varsigma$   $\epsilon\lambda\theta\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$  (489 K<sup>2</sup>) make against Webster's view. But although Chaerestratos is accompanied by Simias, Simikrines here is most probably addressing only Chaerestratos and  $\sigma\upsilon\omega\varsigma$  is naturally translated 'of you, Chaerestratos, and of your friends (of your own sort)'; the word obviously need not be restricted to mean 'of you two (Chaerestratos and Simias)'. Webster's suggestion seems certainly right. Gomme also disagrees with Webster's interpretation of *Heros* II. 55-97 (CR LXI, 72; *Studies*, p. 33). There is much to be said for both points of view, but Webster (*Addenda*, to p. 32) appears sufficiently to have answered Gomme's objections:  $\sigma\upsilon$ ,  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha$  (l. 69) is not necessarily sympathetic, and the emphasis on  $\mu\acute{\omega}\eta$  (l. 76, where the text is certain) is not noticed by Gomme.

Gomme (CR LXI, 94) believes that Webster is too mechanical in his reconstructions. But such restoration from fragmentary texts demands full use of the mechanics of arithmetic and of arguments based on parallel scenes. Menander used the traditional comic situations; broadly, a mechanical plot can be reconstructed mechanically. Gomme suggests that if a character acts in one way in one play it is improbable that a second should act in the same way in a second play, and he doubts the value of a guess. But with stock situations, the action of one play is likely to be the same as that of another *similis argumenti*. A guess based on variations from possible parallels would have doubtful value. Menander's characters are mainly stock types, but Webster (e.g., p. 218) appreciates that they have a distinguishing originality, and though their actions may be the same, their difference in motive provides the interest. Webster's guesses, drawn from his width of knowledge of literary and artistic developments of the fifth and fourth centuries, provide illumination which students fail to find elsewhere.

A work as hypothetical as the reconstruction of plays demands, over and above factual and historical research and accurate observation of detail, a sympathetic insight and an extreme sensitivity to nuances. These qualities Webster displays, and it is to his credit that he is willing to publish his results, although some are as yet incapable of proof, and to make available immediately to a wider circle the stimulus of his ideas. One disappointment is that he was unable to include in this book a seventh chapter on the staging of Menander's comedies, embodying work which he has published in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XXXII, 97 f. We may hope that this will be contained in a work, shortly forthcoming, on fourth century drama. Meanwhile the six chapters of this book provide material which will long be studied by scholars whose interests concern Greek and Roman comedy.

J. M. T. CHARLTON.

**Theocritus.** Edited with a translation and commentary by A. S. F. Gow. 2 voll. Pp. lxxxiv + 257; 635, with 15 pl. Cambridge University Press, 1950. 63s.

The first volume of Gow's *Theocritus* consists of a long introduction (pp. xv-lxxxiv), text, and translation. Gow first examines the problems of the poet's life, and rightly concludes that Theocritus was a Syracusan by birth, whose 'recoverable life', however, 'is connected rather with the Eastern part of the Greek world than with Sicily'. He maintains that the floruit Ol. 124 (i.e. 284-281 B.C.) given by Schol. *Id.* 4, Arg. is too early, but does not exclude the possibility that Theocritus began writing at that date. Of the two names, Praxagoras and Simichos, ascribed by tradition to poet's father, Gow unreservedly inclines to the former (p. xvi); this is rather surprising, as he rejects the theory of the 'Mascarade bucolique' (vol. II, pp. 129 and 65, vol. I, p. xxvi, n. 2). If *Sikelidas* of *Id.* 7 is *Asclepiades*, and these are not false names, then (and Gow believes that these are not false names), then Simichos should be one of the names of the poet's father, if only a nickname (the snub-nosed) used parallel with the real name Praxagoras. (For the use of patronymic names in Alexandrian poetry cf. e.g. *Id.* 25, 193: 'ὦ Αὐγυιάδης', or Apollon. Rhod. III. 475 'Αἰσωνίδη', 515 Αἰσωνίδης, etc.)

Gow's views as to the relations of Theocritus with Apollonius Rhodius and Callimachus (pp. xxii f.) raise serious objections. It is now clear that Apollonius in certain passages of his *Argonautica* is depending upon the *Aetia* of Callimachus (cf. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus, Aetia* fr. 7-21 and Pfeiffer's note at

bottom of p. 17); if, as Gow believes (vol. I, p. xxiii and vol. II, pp. 231, 382), in *Id.* 13 and the second part of *Id.* 22 Theocritus took episodes from the first and second book of the *Argonautica* and rehandled them in accordance with the principles of Callimachus this would place Theocritus impossibly late, for the *Aetia* after all appear to be in their earliest form a work of the sixties. The only reason Gow gives for this view is that Apollonius would not have written such imperfect poetry had he had before his eyes the highly finished Theocritean examples. But these grounds are, of course, insufficient. Apollonius after all did not make any better use of the parts of the *Aetia* he imitated. In fact, if we exclude the spurious *Id.* 25, there is no real dependence of Theocritus upon the writings of Callimachus (points of contact exist, but nothing striking), and this should lead us to believe that he is the oldest of the three great Alexandrian poets.

The second part of the introduction contains a clear and extensive exposition of the Medieval and Renaissance manuscripts and of the papyri and other early sources of Theocritus. Gow has not worked on the manuscripts himself, and the information he gives is almost entirely derived from others, especially from Gallavotti, who based his 1946 text of Theocritus on a full inspection of nearly all the manuscripts. Gow, following Gallavotti (who in this matter was guided by Wendel's edition of the Theocritean Scholia) distinguishes three families of manuscripts (the Vatican, the Ambrosian, and the Laurentian), a classification which is anyhow imperfect, since many manuscripts change allegiance from one section to another. As P. Maas has shown (*Gnomon* VI, 561 f.) they all go back to a common hyparchetype which is later than that of our papyri and the texts used by the ancient Lexicographers. With such a manuscript tradition it is not surprising that Gow gives no full stemma; but even where he does give a stemma codicum in skeleton (p. liii), or reproduces Gallavotti's stemmata of the Vatican and Laurentian families (p. lvi), he does not give the 'Significant Errors', which would enable us to follow his reasoning.

Gow next rightly tells us that the language of Theocritus is a compost of artificial dialect, and that the poet was not consistent even in his own usage of it. Yet against the consensus of our manuscripts he removes all Dorisms from *Id.* 12, 22 and 25 (though we know really nothing of what is meant by the  $\kappa\omega\iota\eta$  'lōs of the hypothesis to *Id.* 12) and in other idylls he changes the dialectal forms (again against the consensus of the manuscripts) for the sake of uniformity (e.g. *Id.* 16, 29, where he writes *Μοισάων* instead of *Μουσάων* on the analogy of *Id.* 58, 69 and 107, disregarding the fact that in l. 3 the manuscripts have *Μοῦσων* which Wilamowitz changed into *Μοισάων*).

One could have wished in this introduction for a chapter on the nature and the art of the poetry of Theocritus. For nowhere in this long and scholarly book do we find clearly put together or adequately stressed all the artistic elements which constitute the poetry of the greatest Alexandrian poet, or the place that he occupies in the history of Greek and Western literature.

The text which follows is generally sound and is based on a judicious choice of readings and older emendations. The most striking feature is that we find there none of the famous 'crucies' we know from the Wilamowitz text of the *Bucolici Graeci*. Some of them have been satisfactorily explained and abolished, but others—and the majority—are unconvincingly removed. Thus for example in *Id.* 11, 60 we are told that  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\tau\iota\kappa\alpha$  (which is after all a conjecture of Paley, as  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha$  is in KPW and  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\gamma\epsilon$  in Q<sup>2</sup>ALNU) reinforcing the repeated  $\nu\acute{\omega}\nu$  is plausible, and the limitative  $\gamma\epsilon$  is appropriate. But  $\mu\alpha\theta\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$  remains an unknown form for  $\mu\alpha\theta\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\mu\alpha$  and the limitative  $\gamma\epsilon$  in that position is improbable (cf. Denniston, *Greek Particles*, 146 f.); or again in *Id.* 14, 38  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$   $\rho\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\omega$  for the  $\dagger$   $\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon$   $\dagger$  of the mss. supported by Mosch. 4, 56  $\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\pi\acute{\omega}\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha$   $\delta\alpha\kappa\upsilon\alpha$   $\mu\eta\lambda\omega\upsilon$ ...  $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omicron$  is unconvincing.  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$   $\rho\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\omega$  is impossible Greek for 'let them flow as big as apples' standing on its own after a question mark.  $\delta\alpha\kappa\upsilon\alpha$   $\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\pi\acute{\omega}\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha$   $\mu\eta\lambda\omega\upsilon$  is another matter, although I admit I cannot understand the exact sense even of that.

On the other hand Gow rightly includes in his text a number of new 'crucies'. Certainly I know of no satisfactory explanation or emendation of *Id.* 17, 2  $\dagger$   $\alpha\epsilon\iota\delta\omega\mu\epsilon\upsilon\iota$   $\delta\omega\iota\delta\alpha\iota\varsigma$   $\dagger$  ( $\dagger$   $\delta\omega\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$  P<sub>3</sub>), nor is Latte's suggestion  $\mu\alpha\sigma\theta\omega\mu\epsilon\upsilon\iota$   $\delta\omega\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$  convincing (*Nachrichten der Ak. d. Wiss. z. Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse 1949, 229); and *Id.* 29, 19-20 are really desperate.

But even though the choice of readings and emendations is generally judicious, certain impossibilities have been admitted into the text (e.g. in *Id.* 27, 73 Edmonds'  $\pi\omicron\mu\alpha\gamma\omega\upsilon\omega\upsilon$ , an unknown word), and a few really brilliant emendations overlooked. The most striking example of the latter is in *Id.* 18, 29, where



Eichstädt's μέγα λῶον (for the μέγαλα ἄρ' of P3 Tr and μέγαλη ἄρ' of our manuscripts) is disregarded, an emendation supported by the new papyrus published by Gow as an Addendum in p. 257 of Vol. I (in which, l. 29, μέγαλα[ appears], and Virgil's Ec. 5, 33 *segetes ut pinguibus arvis*. A cypress tree can adorn a garden, but it certainly can be no κόσμος to a field!

Gow's own emendations are, as he himself tells us, few and on the whole unimportant. Some are not easy to accept. Thus in *Id.* 15, l. 27 he emends ἄλλα (which is in all MSS. and in Pap. 3) into ἄμυν, and accepts Rossbach's emendation τὸν μὲν for τὸν μὲν of all MSS. and Pap. 3 in the following line. One is always inclined to suspect two successive emendations, especially when the ἀνὰ of Ahrens is palaeographically much better than ἄμυν, and gives the same sense. (One could perhaps suggest ἄβρα cf. Nonnus 48, 232 Περσέως . . . ἄβρα . . . δέμνα.). That one bed is necessary is obvious (cf. l. 131), but we need not alter the text in order to obtain that sense; it is already there. Μὲν . . . ἔλ in l. 128 convey little more than πῖ . . . καί (cf. e.g. *Il.* I, 288, *Soph. Tr.* 228) particularly as the same word (τὸν) is repeated before both (cf. Denniston, *Greek Particles*, 370). I should translate accepting the Ahrens emendation: 'mine is the bedspread for the fair Adonis; the Cyprian lies on it and so does Adonis with the rosy arms'. Thus we also avoid the rather unseemly picture of the embracing Gods.

The apparatus, though mainly based on the readings of Gallavotti, is much tidier and easier to use. But Gallavotti has drawn Gow into a few of the old mistakes of Ahrens, as e.g. on the rendering of the manuscript readings to *Id.* 11, 60, where Q<sup>2</sup>ALNU are given as having τὸν which must surely be αὐτὸς as Wilamowitz and Legrand tell us.

The translation which faces the text is not, as the author tells us, an essay in translation, but an adjunct to the commentary; it aims to show what the author understands to be the poet's meaning. It is both successful and helpful with only a few slips, such as *Id.* 18, 30, where θεσσαλὸς ἵππος is translated as 'Thracian steed' (in the commentary the right meaning is, of course, given), or *Id.* 11, 56 where κρίνα λευκὰ are translated as 'snowdrops white' (a meaning which is supported and explained in the commentary). But the κρίνον here is rather the white lily, the *lilium candidum*, and it blossoms in Greece in summer; the ῥόδον is the poppy, the papaver somniferum, which grows in the Greek world in Spring, in certain parts in early spring (almost amounting to winter), and this is, it seems to me, the contrast we find in l. 58.

Volume II consists of the commentary (pp. 1-557), a bibliographical appendix, indices, and plates. The commentary carries the most weight in this publication, and is indeed remarkable in many ways. It gives a great deal of information on a vast number of subjects, linguistic, stylistic, metrical, historical, archaeological, topographical, elements of material civilisation, folk-lore, magic, etc. Gow is at his best when examining the language of Theocritus, the history of which is admirably traced, as well as the new sense the poet gives to words, his constant novelty of expression and far-fetched vocabulary. Naturally Gow has borrowed from his predecessor's commentaries much of value. Perhaps in the treatment of this he is a little austere, occasionally even dogmatic, for parallel or opposite views to his own are on the whole rather seldom presented to the reader.

On the other hand less appreciation is shown for the structure and character of certain of the poems of Theocritus. In *Id.* 22, for example, we are told that Theocritus seems to go out of his way to place the Dioscuri in an unfavourable light (p. 384). But that is certainly not so. Gow admits the lacuna Wilamowitz most convincingly pointed out after l. 170 (cf. l. 175 Κάστωρ only in D, Λυκάων in all other MSS.; l. 186 Κάστωρ only in D, καρπός Tr. M.) and agrees that Castor is speaking in 11. 171 ff. It is quite evident—as P. Maas has pointed out—that the Dioscuri sought reconciliation with their opponents in the part of the poem which fell in that lacuna, that they displayed there the true Greek magnanimity towards the Apharidae, and that the ὕβρις of the latter finally caused the combat (otherwise the words of Castor in l. 171 'ὅ δ' οὐκ ἐκράθη πόλεμον ποιεῖ, etc.', are unintelligible), and was ultimately punished with death.

In a commentary of this length and nature there are, of course, many points on which one can disagree; moreover one cannot find the answer to certain problems one had hoped to see solved (e.g. why is Asclepiades so greatly honoured in 7, 40, whom we now know to have been among the enemies of the Callimachean school of poetry—cf. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*, schol. Flor. ad *Aetia* Fr. I, ll. 4-5—in a poem which a few lines later (ll. 45 f.) avows allegiance to that school, etc.). But in spite of these objections Gow's Theocritus as a whole is a work

of first-rate importance, a monument of erudition and patience for which all classical scholars and all lovers of the poetry of Theocritus must be grateful; it honours Cambridge scholarship, and will be the standard book on the subject for years to come. In conclusion, I should like to add that the indices are excellent, the bibliography is magnificently complete, and the plates which follow make more easily intelligible a number of passages in the text.

C. A. TRYPANIS.

**Epictetus. Entretiens, livre II.** Texte établi et traduit par J. SOUILHÉ. Pp. 118 x 2. Paris: Société d'édition Les Belles Lettres, 1949.

The basic task of the editor of Epictetus is straightforward. Since Schenkl's monumental edition it has been clear that all the later MSS. we possess derive directly or indirectly from the Codex Bodleianus (S), and need to be called in only when the archetype is mutilated or meaningless or gives an otherwise doubtful reading. Accordingly for the foundations of his new edition M. Souilhé has made a fresh and careful collation of S; it is a high tribute to the scholarship of Schenkl, who was indeed the first to collate this MS., that corrections of the earlier recension are few and far between. He has not attempted a detailed re-examination of the later hands which have added to this MS.; that is of secondary importance. But he has examined all the other MSS. down to the end of the sixteenth century in sufficient detail to confirm Schenkl's claims for S and to satisfy himself that five of them are the sources of all the significant corrections found in the remainder of the tradition. These (PVB<sup>2</sup>JF) he has used at first-hand throughout. In all this his work is likely to be definitive. There remains the problem of the codex recorded by Upton and since lost. This contains a number of unique readings; its place in the tradition is quite uncertain; its rediscovery would be an event of major importance. M. Souilhé's handling of this is less satisfactory and seems somewhat arbitrary. At 2, 24; 6, 22; 7, 10; 9, 12; 14, 19; 16, 17; 23, 10, for example, he introduces corrections, surely rightly, from the readings of this codex. But at 7, 14 (ἐπαπαύσας for παράγας); 12, 2 (μῆλος for σκῆλος); 12, 22 (ἡμῖν δαίμα where the MSS. have the senseless ἡμῖν and M. Souilhé reads ἀπὲν with Schenkl); and 14, 29 (καταγῆλα δν for καταγῆλα; the δν is needed grammatically and M. Souilhé translates as if it were there, but the reading is deliberate) he rejects the variation, and it is hard to see his principle of discrimination. There are also some inaccuracies in his citations of editors, and one or two other passages where his reading might be improved. At 1, 33 Kronenberg's brilliant λεξείδια δὲ καὶ 'H δ' ὅς 'Hν δ' ἐγὼ must surely stand, but it is not even mentioned. At 4, 8 I would retain the MSS. ἀνελθὼν as against Schenkl's ἀπὸλθων; I doubt if M. Souilhé's rendering is justified. At 14, 26 εὐτάκτος came from Bentley before Schweighäuser. At 15, 14 the trimeter should be printed as the quotation which it doubtless is. At 17, 5 δς ποὺ is Wolf before Coraes, and at 17, 6 ἐπεγγόμεθα is Schegk before Salmassius. At 22, 31 Capp's addition of κινῶν is not mentioned, though M. Souilhé translates as if it were there. M. Souilhé is sparing of his own emendations, but in the vexed passage at 16, 44 gives us ἐβροῦς αὐλῆς, which is at least as likely as anything else.

The translation, as one would expect, is excellent, careful, and at the same time fluent. προαίρεσις is fairly rendered 'la personne morale'. προλήψεις are 'prenotions'; at 11, 4 the word is not translated and the passage slightly misrepresented. 'Fonctionne' for ἐπαγγελία omits the element of profession. One or two details may be mentioned. At 3, 4 he takes ἀναλυτικός as active and personal with Upton rather than passively applied to the syllogism with Wolf, probably though not certainly correctly. At 9, 8 συμπεπλεγμένον and διεργαμένον are referred to judgments. This must be right, as against Oldfather, but it is decidedly odd in the context. At 9, 21 ἀσυμπαθὲς πρὸς τὸν λόγον becomes 'en désaccord avec notre langage'. Oldfather's 'not in sympathy with our own reason' will certainly not do here. I think ὁ λόγος simply refers back to the frequent use of λόγος and λέγω in the lines preceding and means 'our title', i.e. of Stoic, but the passage is difficult and disputed. At 15, 3 the rendering of τὸν θεραπεύοντα as 'le médecin' loses the force of the future participle.

In all this there is some danger of missing the wood in looking at the trees. It is always refreshing to return to Epictetus, and there is much in the miscellany of this second book to speak to our own time. He is emphatic upon the solidarity of the human race (5); in Donne's words 'No man is an island'. He has some sensible words for those who study astrology in the Sunday papers (7). He calls us to work out our salvation in action (16), not to be content with second-



hand opinions (19), to realise that it does matter what we learn and not merely that we learn (21). His shrewd tilt at the Academics for saying πιστεύετε ἡμῖν ὅτι οὐδὲς πιστεύει οὐδενί (20, 5) has its contemporary targets, such as Bertrand Russell's friend who said she was a solipsist, and could not understand why there were not more of them. Above all there is his sense of life as a journey with many inns on the way (23), so like and yet so different from Jesus' words ἐν τῇ οἰκῇ τοῦ Πατρὸς μου μοναὶ πολλαὶ εἰσιν (John 14, 2), and his recognition that God does not live in temples made with hands, but that we may hear Him about within us (16, 32-3). We are fortunate in possessing in Schenkl (1916), Oldfather (1926), and now M. Souilhé three reliable editions. It is the more to be regretted that death has robbed us of the two volumes that remained to come from the pen of the last.

JOHN FERGUSON.

**The Antinoopolis Papyri. Part I.** Edited with translation and notes. By C. H. ROBERTS. Pp. xii + 119, with 2 plates. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1950. 25s.

This volume begins a new series, papyri discovered at Antinoopolis in the winter 1913-14. Edited by Mr. C. H. Roberts, it offers a representative selection containing much that is interesting as well to the classical and biblical scholar as to the papyrologist and ancient historian. The notes are full without ever being superfluous, and palaeographical comment, as one would expect from an editor of such skill and experience, is both ample and judicious. Eminent authorities in other fields have been consulted whenever a papyrus seemed likely to be illuminated by their specialist knowledge, so that the whole edition bears striking witness to that spirit of co-operation which is most evident in papyrology and to that high tradition of scholarship which over fifty years of intensive labour have won for it.

The O.T. supplies most of the theological texts, of which there are eight, amongst them the first substantial contribution made by the papyri to the Book of Proverbs, seventeen third-century fragments shown by careful examination to be part of a pre-Origenic text of the Septuagint. Two fragments of Ezekiel are compared with the Scheide papyrus to which they show considerable similarity, though marked divergences betray an influence not represented in any other MS. A fragment of St. Matthew's Gospel contains one variant reading of interest, and a papyrus preserving the greater part of the Second Epistle of St. John has several uncommon *nomina sacra*, one of them unprecedented. A sheet from a miniature *de luxe* codex gives us the fifth MS. of the *Acta Pauli* found in Egypt, and a Latin hagiographical fragment possibly belongs to a Latin version of the lost portion of the same work.

The second section comprises eight new classical texts. A real problem is presented by the relationship between the recto and verso of a New Comedy papyrus, which W. Schubart's publication of another fragment of the same codex does not entirely resolve. It may be of interest to point out *en passant* that *PMich.* VIII 507, 8 now provides a parallel to the dative γυ[ν]ῃ in line two. Of the remaining papyri in this section the most interesting perhaps are the fragmentary 'ritual of the mysteries', whose possibilities are thoroughly examined, and what may well be an extract from the epitome of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, a narrative of the Coriolanus story bearing unmistakable resemblances, which the footnotes liberally illustrate, to the *Antiquitates Romanae*. A Latin legal fragment whose elegant hand contrasts violently with its shocking orthography and inconsistent abbreviation concludes this section.

Eight papyri contain fragments of extant classical authors. No 23 gives us one new reading in the *Medea*, No. 24 at least one fragment attributable to the great lacunae in the *Bacchae*. A fragment of Thucydides VIII has several new readings, one probably true. Xenophon is represented by a *Symposium* fragment of double interest, for Mr. Roberts plausibly connects two novel circumstances—that this is the first example of a parchment roll used for a work of Greek literature in Egypt, and that the hand is quite unparalleled—so as to suggest that the roll was imported. No. 27 contains a passage not found elsewhere in the many papyri of Demosthenes, *De Corona*, probably of non-Alexandrian origin. A fragment of Hippocrates is perhaps 'the local practitioner's *case mecum*'. Finally, there are five fragments of the *Georgics*, the first to be unearthed in Egypt, and one from *Aeneid* XII.

There follows a cross-section of documentary papyri, several of which have contributions to make to our knowledge of the institutions and administration of Roman and Byzantine Egypt. Three of them refer to the *logistes*; they prove his existence at Antinoopolis, illustrate his position *vis-à-vis* the municipal magistrates, and show him performing his official

duties. A return of *patrimonialia* illustrates the continued existence of the *strategus* as late as A.D. 339, and an official account of expenditure contains interesting additions to known technical terms and titles. The prefect petitioned in No. 35, Flavius Fortunius, hitherto unknown, must be added to A. Stein's list in his recent 'Die Präfecten von Aegypten.' Of the remaining documents perhaps the most significant are the declaration by a guild of silversmiths, seemingly a direct result of Diocletian's Edict *De Maximis Pretiis*, and the receipt for repayment by an *exactor*, which throws light on the practice of paying for requisitioned goods and also gives another example of the formula adopted to get over the difficulty of dating in the period of uncertainty preceding Chrysopolis. A receipt for *vestis militaris* is unique in having a protective clause, and one of three private letters further illuminates the manufacture of textiles in Egypt.

An Appendix, contributed by Professor W. D. McHardy, contains four Hebrew fragments (47-50) which 'may well fall somewhere within the period of the Greek papyri . . . i.e. 3rd to 6th cent.', three of which are identified as extracts from I Kings, II Kings and the Book of Job, the fourth being as yet undecipherable.

B. R. REES.

**Traité de phonétique grecque.** By M. LEJEUNE. Pp. xvi + 358. Paris: Klincksieck, 1947. Fr. 600.

Four years have passed since the publication of Professor Lejeune's *Traité*. Its author's reputation for wide and exact scholarship, both linguistic and philological, was borne out by the fewness of the detailed additions and corrections which earlier critics could adduce; and after their meagre harvest further gleaning is not likely to be profitable. In general, one can only echo the praise with which the book was welcomed at the outset of its career, and express the conviction that it has fulfilled the destiny then predicted for it and taken its place as a classic exposition of Greek phonetics.

One of the outstanding merits of the book is to combine a great wealth of material with clarity and firmness of outline. The author, with a skill that is his own, has presented his subject according to well-established linguistic principles and a well-established method of arrangement. An introduction devoted to general principles and bibliography is followed by parts dealing with the consonants, the vowels and the phonetics of the word both in isolation and as an element in the sentence. In each part appropriate subdivisions bring together sounds of similar type, and lead from the system of Indo-European through its development in ancient Greek to its briefly described continuation in the post-classical, Byzantine, and modern periods. The clarity of the book is by no means due to its orderly, even orthodox arrangement, but also to constant recurrence to the guiding principles stated in the introduction. By extensive use of cross-references in the text, together with the excellent indices and table of contents, Professor Lejeune is able, in effect, to present several arrangements of his material simultaneously. There is, for example, no section of the book dealing in general with assimilation, but from the analytical index the reader may discover the chapter which the author would have written had his method afforded place for it. There are (perhaps regrettably) no chapters on the alphabet or on pronunciation; the former lack is compensated by the relevant entries in the index, but the only entry under Pronunciation deals with faults of the current French pronunciation of Greek.

A most welcome and unusual feature of the *Traité* is its careful unravelling of the chronology of the Greek sound-changes. After a preparatory section in the introduction on methods of absolute and relative dating in historical phonetics, the chronology of each phenomenon is established where evidence permits, and the scattered paragraphs are brought together in an index entry which could in itself serve as the preliminary sketch for a monograph.

An important innovation is the constant use of principles of general experimental phonetics to explain the probable course of the Greek sound-changes. These explanations are based on Grammont's *Traité de phonétique*, to which frequent reference is made. The brief indications of the mode of articulation which introduce the treatment of each class of sounds are sometimes too summary to be useful to a reader without initiation in phonetics. How, for example, would such a reader understand the term 'force articulatoire' according to which Greek plosives are said to differ? Here excessive brevity goes with over-technicality of expression; elsewhere the reverse is sometimes the case. On p. 12 the formulation of the progressive nature of sound-changes—'Ces altérations partielles s'ajoutent les unes aux autres, et, au bout d'un nombre suffisant de générations, le changement se trouve acquis'—could lead



the inexperienced to think that there is some criterion other than mere cessation for judging the completeness of sound-changes. A similar inexactitude is seen in the paragraph (p. 13) distinguishing conditioned and unconditioned sound-changes. This distinction, useful as it can be, is not absolute nor easy to define precisely; there are changes which can be regarded as conditioned or unconditioned according to the method of analysis used. So, when Professor Lejeune gives as his example of unconditioned change 'l'amuississement d'une sifflante intervocalique en grec commun' he overlooks the fact that a condition is implied in 'intervocalique'. As here defined, conditioned and unconditioned sound-changes are not mutually exclusive. We read that in conditioned changes 'la réalisation en est liée à la présence dans le mot d'un autre phonème déterminé', whereas unconditioned changes are 'l'effet de tendances évolutives qui caractérisent une langue à tel ou tel moment de son histoire'. According to these formulations the elimination of the I-E. labiovelars in Greek could be regarded as manifesting an evolutive tendency, and therefore as unconditioned; but the realisation of the change, in the sense of its result in a given case, depends on the following sound, and is consequently conditioned. On p. 140 we are told that the I-E. semi-vowels tended to disappear in Greek, and this surely implies an unconditioned change as defined by Professor Lejeune. Nevertheless, the treatment of groups consisting of plosive, liquid, or nasal before semi-vowel is justifiably classed by him as conditioned change.

In his brief presentation of dialect development (pp. 8 ff.) Professor Lejeune adheres in effect if not explicitly to the old *Stammbaum* theory, and does not mention the possibility of dialect convergence, with which his work in the Italic field shows him to be thoroughly conversant. The dialectal diversification of a linguistic area does not prevent the subsequent propagation of common changes over it, provided that there remains a sufficient degree of communication throughout the area. This possibility is particularly relevant to the view, accepted by Professor Lejeune, of the Greek development of labiovelars, according to which the general change to labials followed the partial and dialectally limited change to dentals.

It is then justifiable to ask whether the introduction provides a background of general linguistic theory adequate for the full understanding of the rich store of facts and views which follows. It may also be regretted that the author makes no obvious use of the science of functional phonetics, or phonology, which he mentions in two footnotes (p. 3, n. 1; p. 6, n. 3). Admittedly there would have been difficulties in its application, in view of the discrepancies between different groups of phonologists and the fact that in its extreme forms it seems more a branch of logic than of linguistics. Yet the not dissimilar difficulties involved in the I-E. laryngeal theory have not discouraged Professor Lejeune from using it; and perhaps phonology, by its insistence on the functional value and the linguistic rather than the merely physiological aspect of speech-sounds, could here and there have contributed points of view advantageous for the understanding of Greek phonetic development. To take a small example: it is argued (pp. 17, 204-5) that, since the Iranian *Māda* appears in Ionic as *Mādos*, the process by which Common Greek *ā* became *η* in Ionic and Attic took place later than the earliest contact of Medes and Ionians. But this conclusion is not inevitable. At some period after the beginning of the change *ā* > *η* and before the later phase of compensatory lengthening restored *ā* in Ionic, the Ionians had no *ā*, and many parallels from other languages show that, if they first learnt the name *Māda* in this period, they would have replaced the *ā* by the sound of their own language which they felt to be acoustically and functionally nearest, viz. *η*.

These criticisms, justified or not, affect but a small part of a work for the whole of which one can feel only admiration. By treating with such copiousness of fact and lucidity of arrangement a well-founded body of doctrine to which he has himself significantly contributed, Professor Lejeune has produced a book of lasting value alike for reference and continuous reading, for the layman no less than for the specialist.

D. M. JONES.

**Studies in Ancient Greek Society: The Prehistoric Aegean.** By GEORGE THOMSON. Pp. 622; 85 text figs. and 12 maps. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1949. 42s.

Whatever the faults of Professor George Thomson's new book, there is much to admire in his audacity, in his sympathetic sensitivity, and in his imaginative perspicacity. But of course he writes as a Marxist; and for those who are not Marxists the scientific value of the book must seem to be reduced by the writer's double allegiance, political as well as scientific. For some of them that value will seem to be very greatly reduced,

since the writer was not free to follow wherever evidence and argument might lead. He himself would, of course, reply that 'the bourgeois', whether they know it or not, are no more free. My own opinion is that the scientific value which remains is considerable, and that the Marxism is not itself the cause of greatest damage to it, but rather a certain methodological fluidity, which may, indeed, be connected with Marxism.

In the Preface Professor Thomson writes, 'the task I have set myself is to reinterpret the legacy of Greece in the light of Marxism . . . our Hellenic heritage must be rescued from the Mandarins, or else it will perish, destroyed by its devotees . . . Greek history must be studied as an episode in the general history of the Near East, and this can only be done effectively by collective research based on an agreed scientific method. If my work draws attention to this need, its very shortcomings will have served a useful purpose.' The present volume is meant to be the first of several, with the aim of consolidating the ground covered in *Aeschylus and Athens* (p. 7). It is in five parts; their captions are *Kinship, Matriarchy, Communism, The Heroic Age, and Homer*; in each there is much entertainment and also instruction.

All the parts, and the scheme in which they are combined, are open to criticism of method and of detail, partly no doubt of the kinds which the author seems, candidly and modestly enough, to expect, and partly of other kinds. Chapters I and II, on the Classificatory System and Totemism, could be called oversimplified. The arguments in favour of Morgan have been strengthened. But it is not merely through bourgeois intransigence that belief is withheld from The Primitive Horde and Group Marriage. It is time to agree that totemism has probably left traces in Greece. But it is hasty, and, I think, dangerous, to conclude that 'snake-worship' is 'totemism in a modified form' (p. 20). Later a better but quite different explanation is given (p. 213). It is surely also hasty to assert, 'Primitive society was classless' (p. 456). It is, besides, too anthropocentric. καὶ γὰρ τὰ θεία καὶ τὰ καρτερώτατα τιμᾶται ὕμνοις. Certainly the animals have their social stresses and even snobbishnesses. Animal life might also supply confirmation that there is a relation between the moon and fertility, doubted in the excellent section on moon-worship (p. 210). There are cursory judgements, confused arguments, and imperfections in documentation; for example, on the Achaeans (pp. 385-432), where the cardinal reference, Arrian, *Periplus* XVIII. 4, for the Πελᾶς Ἀχαιοί near the Caucasus is missed, and thus the probability that the Achaeans originally came from that area—and perhaps did not at first speak Greek—is overlooked; on the Pelasgians (pp. 171-7, etc.; cf. especially p. 261 with the rest), who sometimes seem to be aborigines and sometimes invaders, with, to me, some uncertainty how far Munro's article has been followed, and why Sir John Myres' article 'A History of the Pelasgian Theory' is not cited at all; on the times of Theseus (p. 365), and on the origins of some gods and goddesses (pp. 257-75, 286-7, and 485); on the evidential value of heroic genealogies (pp. 163-6, 183-98, 374-432); on the 'very conception of Indo-European' which, very truly, 'may have to be revised' (pp. 176-7), though 'the dominance of the Indo-European element' is to be detected in 'the fusion of cultures underlying Greek civilisation' (p. 345); on ὁδῶσα (p. 172), now brilliantly explained by M. Ch. Autran, who is never mentioned, and the 'Iliunna', hardly now after work of Professor Th. Gaster and others to be identified as Trojans (p. 401); on the text of the Homeric poems, which 'had lost their unity; we are not told that they had never possessed it' (p. 574), a good point made as if it were new (I made it in print myself in 1936, and I was not the first); and on other more important priorities, such as the neglect of Bachofen, to whom much here is owed, but of whom only one work is cited, I think three times, of Professor H. J. Rose on Hephæstus, of Mr. D. P. Costello, himself a Marxist, on tribal organisation, and of Mrs. N. K. Chadwick and Dr. Rosamund E. M. Harding on poetic psychology; with certain deficiencies in detail, *Vico, Principi di scienza nuova*, Naples, 1744, being printed (p. 596) instead of the correct designation of, for preference, either the first edition of 1725 or the third of 1749, and 'J. D. Denniston ad E. Io' instead of 'J. D. Denniston ad E. El.' (p. 171, n. 89).

*Studies in Ancient Greek Society* is well named. The chapters are, in a way, 'Einzelstudien', and a little disconnected. On every part, however, Professor Thomson has thrown some new light, but perhaps especially by his comparisons, in the tradition of Jane Harrison, of 'anthropology and the classics'. On kinship and nomenclature, tribal organisations, moon-cult and snake-cult, perhaps on land-tenure, and certainly on poetic origins, he has used a keen mind to useful effect. His criticisms of other scholars are amusing and often victorious. But he tends to let the Marxist Imprimatur count instead of care



and self-criticism. An opponent of sufficient learning and skill in controversy would easily make the book seem far worse than it is. To treat this great subject well, a vast and intimate knowledge concerning a score of ancient oriental languages is really needed. Often the truth is, so far as I may judge, approximately guessed, but not well defined or supported. It is extremely surprising that M. Ch. Autran's great work *Homère...*, which began to appear in 1938, is overlooked, all the more since it ought to have seemed very relevant and very sympathetic.

It was not easy to cover so many topics in the space and the time available. But I think the attempt has usefully mapped the territory to be explored. All these matters should be considered, and in some sense considered together. Certainly co-operative research is needed, and certainly the shortcomings of the present book may help to shew the need. They will shew it better when they are errors than when they are confusions, for truth notoriously emerges more easily from error. There is some danger of confusion in the omissions, for example concerning epic verse. It is misleading to say little or nothing about the question whether the hexameter can have been originally a Greek metre, or about the strong probability that the Homeric tradition had a long prehistory in very civilised oriental centres, quite different from the simple, partly civilised feudal conditions in this, and in many other books, exclusively assumed; and of course it is not less misleading to give no hint of the rich source of Homeric commentary in oriental languages. Few who had not read Bachofen would think from the present book that he, the discoverer of 'Mother-right', was an extreme conservative, who placed religion first in a cause of historical events. Professor Thomson, starting from Bachofen, whose friend and successor Morgan himself was, naturally finds difficulty in maintaining the communist line. He can hardly help being forced sometimes into a sanely religious, or at any rate not materialistic, statement. His own precious, first-hand experience of simple, but truly poetic, people in Ireland must have led him that way. Anyway, he has far too attractive a temperament, and too keen a sense of humour, for a materialist. The great need is to persuade Professor Thomson not to try to serve two masters at once. Then learning might get full advantage of his intellectual powers and imaginative sympathy. He would have less embarrassment, and he would be freer to use his reason, and a careful, effective method.

'I am going to argue that human rhythm originated from the use of tools', writes Professor Thomson (p. 445). The chapter after that is called 'The Ritual Origin of Greek Epic'. 'Religious devotees were subject under the influence of music to hysterical seizures' (p. 459). There was a 'form of therapeutic magic out of which poetry evolved'. 'Prophecy is a development of possession. . . . The hysterical seizure assumes the form of a prophetic trance, in which the patient becomes a medium in the modern spiritualistic sense—a vehicle for the voice of a god or a spirit' (pp. 460-1). 'The common speech of savages has a strongly marked rhythm and a lilting melodic accent' (p. 439). 'Apollo . . . combined prophecy with music because in primitive society music is the vehicle for all forms of psychical dissociation, including the prophetic trance' (p. 485). Nevertheless 'Greek civilisation . . . was the fruit of struggle. . . . The force that drove it forward was the class-struggle' (p. 432). 'With the growth of class inequalities' people 'were driven to console themselves with the mystical hope of recovering their lost heritage in an illusory world beyond the grave' (p. 347).

These surprising quotations do not all cohere with each other, or with materialism. Yet there seems to be a tendency in the right direction. Perhaps the rusty metal of communist dogma is beginning to wear thin. Surely it must eventually. On the Homeric question Professor Thomson writes, 'The separatists are right in accepting the evidence; the unitarians are wrong in permitting them to misinterpret it. I find myself in the comfortable if unfamiliar position of pleading for moderation between extremes' (p. 564). For all that, it is the position where he belongs.

W. F. J. KNIGHT.

**A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great.** By J. B. BURY. 3rd edition, revised by Russell Meiggs. Pp. xxv + 925, with 209 text figures and 8 maps and plans. London: Macmillan, 1951. 16s.

In carrying out the thorough revision necessary to bring Bury up to date, Mr. Meiggs has performed a remarkable *tour de force*. The sections on Mycenae and the Achaeans have been rewritten, and in other places additions to our knowledge or changes of view necessitated (not merely made attractive) by new evidence have been duly noticed; and

this has been done actually without alteration to the pagination, so that page references to the second edition are still valid. Only in case of absolute necessity is a page or two added, numbered (e.g.) 396A, 396B. The notes, on the other hand, have been increased by some fifteen pages, devoted mostly to highly condensed summaries of evidence and references to sources or modern works. As in Bury's original notes, important passages from oriental sources are translated: e.g. the Tawagalawas letter and the Egyptian account of the Philistine migration. There are numerous and excellent new illustrations and a new coloured dialect-map, after Buck. The new edition, in short, attains its object of giving an up-to-date introduction to the advanced study of Greek history; and the house of Macmillan has added to the list of its signal services to Hellenic studies, by producing such a book even now at a price as low as 16s.

Inevitably there are some few errors and loose ends. On Minoan chronology, Bury's text on p. 14 and n. is contradicted by M.'s new n. 2 to p. 12. The former should be cancelled. Generally, where Bury nodded he has been put right. Tutors will, for instance, no longer be able to make the result of the raid on Halicis a test of whether their pupils have read Thucydides or only Bury-Ephorus. But there remain a few *prisci vestigia Buri* due for correction. '£80' for the property qualification of drs. 2000 (p. 832, margin) was misleading even in 1899; and various errors remain in the notes, index, and chronological table. E.g., *Iliad* (pp. 68-9) is not indexed, though *Odyssey* is; the Nicanor indexed is two people (son of Parmenion, p. 749; of Proxenus, 828, 833); the references to Theramenes stop in 411 (add refs. to pp. 501, 504-10). On p. 898 (n. to p. 796), for 'daughter of Memnon' read 'widow of Memnon', and for 'Plut. *Al.* 22' read '21'. But as Tarn has shown reason to doubt the whole story, much better delete the note. On p. 845 (392 B.C.) for 'Megara' read 'Corinth'. On p. 844 the muddled order of events in 407-6 has been altered, but is still wrong. Here, incidentally, in the text, it should be noted that the Battle of Notion, 'a slight incident', did not 'completely change the current of feeling in Athens' (p. 500). It was the culmination of a long series of complaints and disappointments (cf. Plut. *Alc.* 35, Diod. XIII, 73-4). The implied slur on the Athenian character is, as so often, unjustified. At pp. 155 and n., and 866, Bury's nn. should be replaced by a reference to *Ox. Pap.* XI, 1365, which elucidates the history of Orthagoras, son of Andreas; and 'the little farms of Attica' before Solon were certainly not 'covered with' inscribed mortgage stones (p. 181). We should have had at least some fragments by this time. Uninscribed *horoi* (termini, land-marks) are likelier in 600 B.C. In the valuable rewritten pages, the 'k'w'sh' of Merneptah's monument are expanded as 'Achawiasha' (p. 44) in the traditional manner, and identified as 'almost certainly Achaeans', while the Philistines, who really are almost certain, get only a 'perhaps', along with the extremely dubious 'Sikels'. On p. 151 (the Lelantine War) for 'Megara' read 'Leontini'. Among the creditably few misprints, on p. 885 (n. to p. 469) for (Andocides) 'iii' read 'i'; and on p. 889 (n. to p. 564) for 478, 477, read 378, 377.

No one, perhaps, has ever claimed that 'Bury's Greece' is a great work. He is dull—he succeeds in taking the fun even out of the Abu Simbel inscription (pp. 115 f.) and the Cleomenes passage from the *Lysistrata* (p. 211); and his style 'dates', especially the *tutoyer* in reported sayings. He also uses less art than he might have in the arrangement of his material. The great victories of 457 are narrated and done with *before* we hear that Athens won them with half her forces away fighting Persia (pp. 353-4); and the pages on Socrates (577 ff.) come after the account of the Peace of Callias of 372. The opportunity is thus lost of using them to give colour to the scene and gain sympathy for the actors in the tragic days of Alcibiades and Critias. But this last failure is only a symptom of a more general defect: the fact that he has no clear conception of the nature of social process. His conception of history (as distinct from the historical scholarship of which he was a master) is one scarcely altered since Froissart. It includes political and military history, especially the latter; but 'literature and art, religion and philosophy' are 'touched upon only when they directly illustrate, or come into some specially intimate connection with, the political history' (Preface to 1st ed., p. viii). This, he tells us, is in order to save space—which he then squanders to such purpose that Iphicrates takes up seven lines in the index, Agesilaus eleven, and Dionysius I twenty-two. He continues: 'The interspersions, in a short political history' (but he says 'A History of Greece' on the title page), 'of a few unconnected chapters dealing, as they must deal, inadequately with art and literature seems useless and



inartistic.' That chapters dealing with these activities of the spirit must usually, in his opinion, be unconnected with the main narrative is precisely the most damning evidence of the inadequacy of his concepts of social development. It is the more pity, because when he does write on the history of thought he is often excellent; though he produces one dictum on Socrates, of which one would like to think that Bury in Elysium has had to give Socrates an account: 'In the history of ethics his position is supreme. He was the founder of utilitarianism' (p. 578).

Bury as a military historian, on the other hand, must rank with Tacitus; yet, following his German masters (who did, alas, know what they were talking about) he feels it his duty to take us faithfully through the campaigns of Anaxibius and Dercyllidas, and to indulge in some singularly unhappy military criticism. For instance, he argues that the troops sent away by Leonidas must have been meant to oppose Hydarnes at the descent from Anopaia, since otherwise there was no adequate reason for Leonidas and the Three Hundred to remain; failing to realise that since the Persians were strong in cavalry and the Greeks had none, if all the Greeks had retreated, all would have been rounded up in the open within the day. He fails to use Plutarch's *Pelopidas*, which is much more illuminating than Xenophon, on the tactics of Leuctra, and he misunderstands Arrian on Gaugamela and on the Hydaspes. Worst of all, trusting Diodorus too implicitly, he ignores the decisive naval operations of the Lamian War, thus leaving the abortive affair of Crannon in solitary unintelligibility among decisive battles of the world. We should welcome references, in the next reprint, to Tarn, *CAH* VI, 458, and Walek, *Rev. de Philologie*, XLVIII (1924), 23 ff.

But when all is said, there is no Bury but Bury, and Meiggs is his editor. Bury performed, with fine scholarship if with little historical sense, a really self-sacrificing work in producing a one-volume rather than a multi-volumed political history of Greece. In the absence of anything better of its size, we do well to be grateful to him, and also to Mr. Meiggs for the extreme labour (as it must often have been) by which without altering its form he has brought Bury, in almost every detail, up to date.

A. R. BURN.

**Griechische Geschichte von den Anfängen bis in die römische Kaiserzeit** (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, III, 4). By H. BENTGTON. Pp. xvi + 591, with 12 maps. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1950. DM 40.

A generation has passed since the last edition of the volume on Greek History by Pöhlman in the *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* series. A new work on the subject was long due, and at last the need has been supplied by Hermann Bengtson, who has set out to produce in one reasonably large book a survey of what modern scholarship has to say on the matter. The result is an eminently readable and useful work.

Bengtson aims at giving a balanced view of the achievements of international research. Many German handbooks have produced a detailed bibliography of their own countrymen's writings, while ignoring all but occasional others. Here it is refreshing to encounter with equal frequency references to English, American, French, and Italian works. The book starts with a summary of modern scholarship in which the author's own nationality only reveals itself in the way in which the German writers are described with a more personal colour than the rest. An Irishman may perhaps be allowed to deplore the omission of Mahaffy from this section. He did much to give Greek History a status of its own in classical studies, his contributions to Greek chronology and papyrology have influenced the development of those particular branches, and in addition he produced important work in Hellenistic history—a period to which Bengtson devoted special attention.

In the main body of the work the first feature to strike one is its wide extent. Greek history no more begins with the Dorian invasion nor ends with the death of Alexander. Bengtson starts with thirty-four pages which cover the epoch from the invasion of the Indo-Europeans (c. 2000 B.C.) to the end of the 'Transition period' (c. 800 B.C.). At the other end the battle of Chaeroneia finds only a little over half the story told. Bengtson continues his narrative down to the closing of the schools by Justinian (A.D. 529). It is magnificent in this way to have a well-documented account of all Hellenic activity within the compass of one volume, but it is a task which entails various difficulties.

The problem of proportion in the treatment is specially hard. If an adequate account is to be given of the Hellenistic monarchies and their achievements a good deal of space must be devoted to detail, but this can only be gained by some

sacrifice of detail in the treatment of the classical age. Hence Bengtson, for example, gives eighty-seven pages to the period from 323 to 201 B.C. and only fifty-six pages to the Pentecontaetia and the Peloponnesian war together. This is much the same proportion of pages year by year. But both the amount of past scholarship expended on it and its value in the history of the human race still suggest that the times of Athenian greatness should be allowed preferential treatment.

It may be this problem of proportion that has led Bengtson to a curious feature of arrangement and terminology. For him the Hellenistic epoch begins not with Alexander's death, or even with Chaeroneia, but with 360 B.C. and the accession of Philip of Macedon. Xenophon would have agreed with this view to the extent that the battle of Mantinea saw the end of intelligible relations between the city-states. But if it were to become generally accepted as terminology some strange results would follow. Demosthenes would cease to be the greatest of classical orators. Praxiteles would have worked largely in the Hellenistic period, Ephorus would have to be reckoned a Hellenistic historian.

Otherwise in treating each period Bengtson's method is straightforward. The main sections are preceded by general summaries, and each chapter has its preliminary survey of *Quellen und Darstellungen*.

Footnotes are brief and mostly confined to additional citations of literature. An appendix contains lists of Persian and Hellenistic, but not of Spartan nor Cyrenian kings. There are also genealogical tables of the Hellenistic royal families, but not of any of the Greek tyrants nor of such families as the Alcmaeonids. The chronological table which follows reaches from neolithic times to A.D. 639, and there is a detailed index.

The subject matter is treated in a normal way without any novel or unconventional ideas, which is a proper limitation to a work which is meant to be a general handbook. Various particular points are worth note. In his picture of prehistoric times Bengtson makes few or no concessions to Greek traditions. Minyan ware is a local peasant product providing no evidence of foreign influence. The picture of Achaean overlords, such as Agamemnon, is dismissed as improbable.

Troy VIIa was taken by a Thracian invasion. The 'Ahhijava' of the Hittite documents is a land inhabited by non-Greeks, probably in Cilicia.

When we come to the Hellenic period there are signs of an occasional reaction against recently accepted doctrines. The archaic tyrants are imperialists. 'Above all the aim of the Tyrants was the subjugation of other communities' (p. 102). This statement is not adequately reinforced with examples; just as also a reference to Busolt and Meyer seems insufficient proof for the assertion that tyranny arose first in the Isthmus states and then in Ionia. There is no reference to the fact that the title is first known from contemporary Greek literature in an allusion to Gyges. Again, 'it can be taken as certain that the Spartan constitution in its individual character arose gradually; it is not the work of a single legislator' (p. 105). Bengtson rejects equally the legendary Lycurgus and the theory of a drastic modification in the sixth century (*sic*). He dates the great *Rhetra* to the beginning of the seventh or even the end of the eighth century—a view which seems to attribute to that date a remarkably developed conception of *δημος* as a political term.

The account of the sixth century is effectively handled, but one may doubt if it was wise economy to allot seven full pages to a detailed description, however well written, of the rise of Persia. This feature is part of a general tendency rather to overstress the importance of Persian influence in Greek history. In the fifth century one unexpected point is that the five years' peace between Athens and Sparta is dated to 453 instead of 451/0. In a footnote (p. 195, n. 4) Bengtson tries to explain away one of Thucydides' few indications of date in the Pentecontaetia. He does not discuss how this change would relate either with the return of Cimon from ostracism or the outbreak of war again in 446. Equally arbitrary appears the dating of the revolt of Potidaea to 433 when the epigraphic evidence seems sufficient that her tribute was still paid in March, 432. In the last years of the Peloponnesian war Bengtson chooses the chronology which would date Alcibiades' return to 408 and the battle of Notium to 407. He gives no new reasons for this preference. In the fourth century there is rather too much talk about *κοινή σφραγίς*, and too little attention given to the second Athenian confederacy. Dionysius' war with Carthage from 383 is described as his last and that of 368-7 is ignored (p. 271). In treating of Alexander (as also elsewhere) Bengtson differs strongly from Tarn. The *Hypomnemata* are taken as genuine and a proof that Alexander aimed at world conquest.

In the Hellenistic and Roman portions of the work, where so much of the history is still doubtful, there is less advantage in



noting details. One may perhaps remark that the beginning of the Aetolian predominance at Delphi should be dated well before the Gallic raid of 279 (p. 375), and that in the first century the invasion of the Maedi might have been mentioned. Generally, Bengtson has concentrated on stating the probable facts and building on them, rather than on hypotheses, his general reconstruction. For instance, the battle of Cos retires into the modest obscurity of a footnote (p. 382, n. 5). Throughout one can see particularly the influence of Walter Otto, whose memory the reviewer (who was also a pupil of his) greets with respectful regret.

The professional scholar will probably find that he turns with greatest advantage to these Hellenistic chapters (using the term in its usual meaning). They read as though they were written with greater conviction than the classical parts of the history. One may note also a long and able description (pp. 432-44) of the *Weltherrschaft der griechischen Geistes*, telling of the intellectual, artistic, and cultural achievements of the Hellenistic epoch. This has no functional equivalent in Bengtson's description of fifth-century Greece, nor for that matter does he devote a corresponding attention to the neo-classical revival of the Roman period. The explanation probably is not to be found in a belief that the familiar features of Hellenic civilisation need not be described, but perhaps because Bengtson has a certain leaning towards the Hellenistic as such.

In illustration it may be noted that his verdict on Periclean Athens is a curious one. Bengtson does not suggest, as have some of his countrymen in the past, that democracy was something inherently defective. He appears to approve in general the aims and methods of Pericles, but he ends by blaming him for spending so much on building programmes that he could not finally accumulate enough capital to face the Peloponnesian war. 'Over the end of the Pentecontaetia, the age which had raised Athens to a height undreamed of, is written the bitter word "neglect"' (*das böse Wort 'Versäumnis'*, p. 192). It seems a curious judgement on the Periclean age. One might be pardoned for supposing that Pericles had done all that that human wisdom could do, but had not foreseen the Plague.

The Hellenistic age, too, had its 'Versäumnis' (p. 377). It had failed, as Bengtson notes, to observe the development of the military power to its West, and it paid dearly for it. But Bengtson seems more prepared to forgive his favourite period its carelessness. His real interest is in the later development and diffusion of Greek culture, rather than in its origins and its first flowering, and it is to these later stages that his book makes its chief contribution.

H. W. PARKE.

**Weltgeschichte des Mittelmeer-Raumes von Philipp II von Makedonien bis Muhammed** (herausgegeben von Hermann Bengtson). 2 vols. By E. KORNEMANN. Pp. xvi + 509 and viii + 563, with 11 maps in text, 29 folding maps and 12 plates. Munich: Biederstein Verlag, 1948-9. DM 60.

'The World-History of the Mediterranean area'—the theme of this work is the history of a millennium from Philip II of Macedon to the Emperor Heraclius and the formulation of the faith of Arabia by Mohammed. It is a long book in two volumes, and it presents a difficult problem to the reviewer, for he must never forget that this is a posthumous work and it was never revised. The attentive reader will probably feel that much of the narrative, especially in the first volume, represents a draft which might have been considerably changed if Professor Kornemann had lived to reconsider the text—he might well have struck out his account of the Sumerian, Accadian, and Hittite Kingdoms, since it is not easy to understand its relevance to his subject. Perhaps the most useful comment which a reviewer can make is to raise some of the questions which the reading of K.'s book has suggested.

K. had recently published two volumes on Rome; what was his aim in writing this work on Greco-Roman history? In his preface he explains that his object has been to pay more attention to the Iranian and oriental elements in that history. Alexander the Great took much from Persia and so did Rome. The government of a great empire is rendered possible only by the help of an efficient, schooled bureaucracy and that was first created by Achaemenid Persia. Hellenism and Iranism must be treated side by side, and only then will the exclusive study of the Greek tradition be overcome.

Such was K.'s programme for the book, but the surprising thing is that it was never effectively realised. The achievement of Cyrus and Darius is described with lively interest but with doubtful relevance, for the Persia with which Philip II and Alexander came into contact was very different from the Persia of Darius. The account of Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism is superficial, for it completely fails to suggest the problems and

the doubts which beset the subject. Even a book designed for the non-specialist should not give to the reader a fallacious impression of securely established fact. 'Almost every student of the Gathas has his own Zarathustra', writes Bengtson. Often a student may interpret 'a strophe of the Gathas in the evening and by the morning it has become something quite different' (Nyberg). A. D. Nock has suggested that a book should be written on *The Quest of the Historical Zoroaster* after the model of Albert Schweitzer's famous book [*The Problem of Zoroaster*, *AJA* liii (1949), 272-85 at p. 285]. At least a reference might have been made to the bibliography of recent literature dealing with the date of Zoroaster given by P. J. Junge, *Dareios I König der Perser*, Leipzig, 1944, p. 165.

The faith of Zoroaster is in K.'s view the supreme gift of Persia to Europe, mainly through its influence on the Old Testament and on Christianity. But here we need a careful discussion: how and to what extent was that influence exercised? As a result of such a detailed discussion W. Manson came to the conclusion that 'all necessity to invoke ethnic or esoteric ideas for the explanation of any part of [Jesus'] teaching disappears' (*Jesus the Messiah*, London, 1943, p. 185). One might have expected that K. would have discussed the complex Iranian myth of the Saviour who had himself first to be saved. That mythical construction, built up by Reitzenstein drawing on Mandaean materials, has been adversely criticised and I am quite incompetent to judge how much of Reitzenstein's argument still stands. See W. Manson, *op. cit.*, chapter I and Appendix D, and cf. J. M. Creed, 'The Heavenly Man', *26 J.T.S.*, pp. 113-36. If K. had lived he would doubtless have amplified what he had written.

But it is important to realise how restricted Persian influence is in K.'s view. Thus when one speaks of Persian influences acting upon the Roman Empire 'it is those of the old-Persian Achaemenid court, kept alive through the Hellenistic tradition, which must be considered rather than the new-Persian court of the Sassanids. Diocletian, who in his Manichean edict passed so unfavourable a judgement upon the Sassanids, cannot have adopted any suggestions from them: such suggestions must rather be traced back—past Alexander—to the time of the Achaemenids' (II, 295). Elsewhere K. writes, 'From the third century B.C. Western Asia Minor was wholly Greek and the penetration by Iranian influences which had been favoured by Darius ceased to have any hold' (I, 254). If one has set out to trace the spread of Iranian ideas it seems strange that Plutarch's account in his *De Iside et Osiride* should not be mentioned nor the 38th oration of Dio of Prusa where he cites a Zoroastrian hymn, while it is similarly of interest to trace the use made by Lactantius of Zoroastrian eschatology to support his interpretation of the Christian revelation (in the *Divine Institutes*; see the passages collected in vol. 2 of Joseph Bidez and Franz Cumont, *Les Mages hellénisés*, Paris, 1938). And it should not be forgotten that even in the fourth century A.D. St. Basil in a letter can say that the *θῆος* of the Magi (Magusaeans) *πολὺ ἴσθι παρ' ἡμῶν κατὰ πῶσαν σχεδὸν τὴν χώραν διασπαρμένον* (Epist. 258, Loeb edition vol. 4, pp. 44-6).

The Manichaean edict of Diocletian may have been the effect of war psychology, but far more damaging to Persian influence was the popular scorn of the Byzantines for a people which worshipped the horse (see George of Pisidia, *Exp. Pers.* I 24 sqq.; John of Nikiou—of Hormizd—*Journal Asiatique*, 7<sup>me</sup> Série, tome 13 (1879), 304). I cannot explain this belief of the East Romans (cf. *CR* xxvi, 50). Can it be derived from the four-horse chariot 'dont les chevaux représentent les quatre Éléments et qui est conduit par un aigle éternel' (Bidez and Cumont, *op. cit.* I, 91; II, 142 n. 4)?

K. might indeed have made a better case for Persian influence than he has done in this book. But beside the living force in the later Empire of a Roman, a Christian, and a Greek tradition the oriental legacy of Achaemenid Persia stands for very little.

And this book, obviously written for the general reader, necessarily suggests the problem: how should the interest in the Hellenistic civilisation be awakened and sustained amongst those who are not specialists? K. unfortunately has failed to do any such thing. He details diplomacy and wars, facts piled on facts, but no clear statement is attempted of the meaning of these facts. James Denney once wrote, 'He who does not see the meaning does not see the thing' (*The Death of Christ*, p. 5). One cannot help wondering how many there will be who will persevere after reading K.'s account of the Diadochi. For in the first volume the human element is suppressed, and it really looks as though that suppression were deliberate. In the social history of the Hellenistic period the tragedy of Agis and the revolution of Cleomenes is a moving story; K. in passing mentions (I, 247) 'the famous attempts at reform' of the Spartan kings—and that is all! Will these



reforms be to the non-specialist reader as familiar as household words? And then see what W. W. Tarn makes of the story and its meaning (*The Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge, 1923, 128-40). When K. comes to write of the Maccabean revolt he does not mention the First Book of the Maccabees; doubtless it is rhetorical, but it is fine rhetoric, and it helps us to feel the passion which in Jerusalem made the spread of Hellenistic civilisation an impossibility; it helps us, too, to understand why the Judaism of Alexandria was so different from the Judaism of Jerusalem. K. unfortunately ignores Hellenistic literature: why should Polybius not have been granted a treatment similar to that given to Tacitus in K.'s second volume? Personally I do not believe that we shall ever win a general recognition of the vital significance of the civilisation of the Hellenistic age until we boldly throw overboard a cargo of military and diplomatic facts in order to make room for a far more valuable freight. But once more a reviewer has qualms: so much of this book might have been so different if K. had lived to revise it.

A collection of K.'s dicta might provide themes for lively discussion. Thus of the Emperor Tiberius K. writes that the human element in Tiberius stamped him as the first truly great European man (II, 71). What precisely did K. mean? In what way was Tiberius a better European than Augustus? Europe as a geographical term for a continent was of course familiar to the ancient world, but was the conception of Europe as an 'ideal unity', as 'a living force of unification and of a common attitude (*Haltung*)' attained to in the period from Sulla to Tiberius? Can one trace a sense of 'European responsibility' in Pompey and Caesar (so Helmut Berve, 'Der Europa-Begriff in der Antike' in *Gestaltende Kräfte der Antike*, Munich, 1949, 170-87, at pp. 183-7)? Unity within the Roman Empire, yes; unity as linking the shores of the Mediterranean—*mare nostrum*. But it may be doubted whether a 'European' unity was realised, though we may agree with Berve that, at least for us, Cicero appears in many respects as 'the first European'.

Perhaps the least satisfactory part of K.'s study of the Roman Empire is his treatment of the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine. Diocletian, in K.'s view, still maintains the Principate, it is with Constantine that the Dominate begins. It is not easy to understand this distinction, for it may be contended that the population of the East Mediterranean lands had never understood the Principate as it was conceived in the Roman West—the Emperor had been the Dominus from the first. One cannot therefore fix upon a moment when the Principate ceased to exist. The Dominate is an atmosphere, and when Diocletian moved his court to Nicomedia he naturally adapted himself to that East Mediterranean atmosphere; the ritual of his court was fashioned on an Eastern model. Some students of the work of Otto Seeck have felt that his conception of Diocletian's character was not reflected in the policy of the reign. Unfortunately that conception in an extreme form has been adopted by K. Diocletian is drawn as a 'Backwards Renovator' (*Rückwärts-Erneuerer*) like Sulla (I, 398-9)—regimentation, the forging of projects, planning for planning's sake, these are the outstanding features of his government. It is no wonder that K.'s treatment of the persecution of the Christians is inadequate, that the theory of an Emperor's duty to abdicate after twenty years of rule should still be accepted. Surely Diocletian's policy is a constant adaptation of measures to meet current needs as they arose in a critical period: it retains its flexibility. K. sees in Constantine one who was essentially a conservative—one 'who did but develop and complete institutions which had so far as possible become customary' (II, 295). But in the fourth century he was regarded as a revolutionary—a *turbator rerum*. To K. as a statesman Constantine appears shrewd (*klug*) (II, 446), and was thus able to reconcile the work of Augustus and Jesus; but there is no recognition of Constantine's sense of a religious mission; to represent him as a conservative appears to me to be perverse. Constantine in his own person was a historical watershed, his reign marks a turning-point in the history of the Mediterranean lands.

One more point: it is not always easy to gain any clear conception of K.'s thought. A single illustration of this difficulty must suffice. When does Byzantine history begin? With the year A.D. 480, writes K., the new period commences which leads to the formation of the Byzantine State (II, 398). In domestic policy it was through Theodora that 'the Byzantine State experienced the hour of its birth' (p. 418). Theodora built up the Byzantine State which was to come (p. 452), yet Justinian's epoch was the brilliant period in literature and art of early Byzantine civilisation (p. 438), while the Byzantine Empire begins in the seventh century with the reign of Heraclius (p. 460). It is of course clear that the text has not

been revised, but the confusion of these passages forces the reader to ask what are the characteristics of the Byzantine State, what is its mission, what is the faith which maintained it through the centuries. Then when one considers the confidence assured to the Orthodox by the protection of a Christian God, the possession of an Emperor who was Heaven's delegate, the money economy on which East Roman diplomacy was based, the highly trained army and civil service, when one realises that none of these essential elements of Byzantine survival first appeared with Theodora or with Heraclius one is driven further and further back—back to Theodosius the Great and to the revolutionary dream of Constantine. In its essentials the Byzantine State remained true to the vision of the first Christian Emperor. A change in the method of recruiting the army, the seventh century creation (? by Constans) of the system of military themes, the erection of new financial ministries, even the loss of Syria and Egypt to the Arabs cannot affect the permanent character of the Empire; it is but a change of means and not of ends that is in question. We are bound to fail in our task of historical understanding if we begin our study of East Rome with the reign of Heraclius.

A reviewer cannot but ask himself whether it was really a service to the memory of Kornemann to publish this book in its present form. It is not easy to stifle a doubt.

NORMAN H. BAYNES.

ΟΥΓΓΡΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑΙ ΜΕΛΕΤΑΙ, ed. GYULA MORAVCSIK, 30. 'Studies on the History of the Sarmatians'. By JOHN HARMATTA. Pp. 63. Budapest, 1950. 20 florins.

There are two studies: 1. The Western Sarmatians in S. Russia from the third to the first century B.C. 2. The Sarmatians in Hungary (from about A.D. 1). We must appreciate the author's courtesy in reissuing them in English.

1. Sauromatae were placed east of the Don in the fifth century by Herodotus and 'Hippocrates'. Hippocrates classes them as Scythians, but Herodotus definitely excludes them, though his tale that they were sprung from Scythian youths and Amazons accounts for their speaking a language akin to Scythian and giving their women a free or even dominant position.

In the fourth century the form *Syrmatae* occurs in 'Scylax' and Eudoxus of Cnidus. Harmatta does not mention this.

The name of the Sarmatae first occurs in B.C. 179 when their king Gatalus joins a league of Pontic states. From the second century both forms are used, sometimes even by the same writers, and kings of the Bosphorus called themselves *Sauromates* by a conscious archaism. Rostovtsev at one time, and now our author, have thought that the two names denoted different peoples. Certainly the Sarmatae are no longer *υποκυβερνητικοί*, though Polyaeus has tales of very lively queens Amage and Tirgatao (called a *Maecotis* but with an evidently Sarmatian name); however, queens in the third and second century B.C. could be very lively; and they are no longer mere *ἡμιθρόνοι* like the Scyths; they have elaborate armour and heavy spears so as to fight in a more modern style; this may account for their political superiority over the Scyths, whom they confined to the Crimea and the Dobruzha. In spite of these differences the latest Iranists, such as Gershevich, are inclined to identify the names.

Strabo speaks of three Sarmatian tribes on the West between the Ister and Borysthenes: Iazyges, Basilei, and Ugi, with the Rhoxolani stretching on to the Tanais. Mainly on the strength of the word *Βασίλειοι* (also used by Appian) our author regards them as forming a powerful state under a ruling tribe, having reached this position about 125 B.C.; their coming would be the furthest repercussion of Hsiung-nu expansions and the second movement of the Yueh-chih about 130 B.C. These Sarmatae were at first hostile to Mithradates Eupator, but then fell in with his great schemes of western expansion. Rostovtsev has pointed out that in this West Sarmatian region from Tobolsk to Galiche in Bulgaria have been found phalerae in style similar to pieces in the Peshawar Museum brought down into India by the Saka invasion. Some of these tribes must have been the Sakas' neighbours north-east of Iran. If there was a Sarmatian power at all it cannot have lasted beyond about 60 B.C., the rise of the Getae; but there is quite a chance that the critical word *Βασίλειοι* is but an echo of the 'Royal' Scyths in Herodotus, like the *Basilidae* in Pliny.

2. The Sarmatians in Hungary. This is the last term of their movement from East to West. The first evidence of this our author sees in the tribes plaguing Olbia about 200 B.C., *Σαίοι* (if that be the right nominative to *Σαίων*), *Thisamatae* and *Saudaratae* (the terminations look Sarmatian); *Saioi* goes with the king's name *Saitaphernes* which would be 'glory of the Saitae' perhaps a more complete form; but the other



tribes mentioned come from the West, Celtic Galatae and German Sciri. They are all swept away by the Sarmatae dealt with in Study 1, lords from the Danube to the Don; but not for long, what with the Getae on the West and on the East new kindred tribes such as the Aorsi and Alani. Under various pressure the Iazyges, the most westerly tribe, entered Hungary from Oltenia, i.e. Western Rumania, though some were still near Tomi when Ovid was there (A.D. 8-18).

It does not seem as if they were well off in Hungary. Their graves are very poor and they seem to have been very hard up for metal. About the time of Marcus Aurelius they came into touch with their richer cousins the Roxolani and through them got things from much further East and comparative prosperity went on till about A.D. 300. By then the Goths had cut their communications. Then the Alans made their way from Eastern to Western Russia and drove the Roxolani into Hungary where they amalgamated with the Iazyges. This made the Hungarian Sarmatae a danger to Diocletian, who forced many of them to settle in Roman territory. Those left behind were scattered by the great turmoil caused by the appearance of the Huns who brought in the Alans, later joined to the Goths and the Vandals. Alans are particularly mentioned as having been in Brittany, and it can hardly be a coincidence that Alan is a common name of the Dukes of Brittany; the name spread to the Norman invaders of England, and their descendants well known among us.

ELLIS H. MINNS.

**The Greek Law of Sale.** By F. PRINGSHEIM. Pp. xix + 580. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1950. Price not given.

In this important monograph Professor Pringsheim accepts and develops ideas sketched by the late Josef Partsch. Greek law, in Pringsheim's view, was, at any rate in sale and probably in other matters, different from Roman law; it developed in a different way; in spite of local variations there was a community of legal notions and methods throughout the Hellenistic world, and this characteristically Greek law maintained in Egypt its substantial independence throughout Ptolemaic and into later Roman times. The Greeks never evolved a general law of contractual obligation; Pringsheim denies the existence of a general *δίκη συμβηκτικὴν παραβάσεως* and holds that the *δίκη βλάβης* lay only for damage *ex delicto*. Of particular contracts the first to be recognised was that of loan, and even this, in Pringsheim's view, always required witnessing, that is, a certain formal element, for its full validity. As for sale, it was conceived, after the fashion of early peoples generally, as a cash transaction in which the decisive moment was the payment of the price; before that moment there was no obligation on either party and at that moment the rights in the thing sold immediately passed, subject perhaps to requirements of publicity and registration, from seller to buyer. Hence in Greek references to sale the emphasis commonly laid on the payment of the price. To Pringsheim's examples of actual and metaphorical sales we might add St. Paul's repeated use (1 Cor. vi, 20 and vii, 23) of the phrase 'bought with a price'. But such a primitive concept does not allow for sales on credit, sales of goods for future delivery, and other cases where the whole transaction is not completed *uno actu*. The Roman juristic genius eventually met these needs of a more advanced civilisation by recognising a contract of sale, in which the *consensus* of the parties created binding legal obligations for future performance, and notionally separating this contract from the act of payment and the conveyance of the property which were its fulfilment. The Greek lawyers went to work in a different way. Retaining the primitive concept of sale, they provided for sales on credit by treating the unpaid price as a money loan from seller to buyer, thereby giving the former the familiar remedies of a creditor; conversely, a sale of generic goods for future delivery could be held to involve a loan from buyer to seller to be repaid in goods. There were other devices. The sale of an expected crop, that is, specific and not generic goods, could be met by a short-term lease of the ground to the buyer entitling him as lessee to gather the fruits. If so desired, the position of the buyer who had entered into possession before paying the full price and thereby obtaining ownership could be strengthened by a *βεβαιώσις* authorising him to defend his possession; the *βεβαιώσις* also played an important part in the nearly related transactions of lease and mortgage. Finally, a provisional agreement to sell could, like other agreements, be accompanied by the giving of *ὑποθήκην* or *ἄρα* as a sort of security for eventual performance, and again, an *ἄρα* transaction referring to specific goods could be accompanied by a *βεβαιώσις* enabling the buyer to take and defend possession.

Pringsheim from his exhaustive knowledge of the sources, both in literary texts and in the papyrus records, collects and

discusses many examples in which sales are combined 'in rich diversity' with a more or less fictitious application of other juristic notions so as to produce the precise legal effects desired by the parties. By a historical examination he shows how from such combinations the Greek lawyers often proceeded to the creation of new and improved types. A clumsy coupling of elements from sale and loan was eventually fused into something neither sale nor loan, resisting juristic classification but adequate for its purpose. The same can be said of the development of *καρπώσις* out of a mixture of sale and lease. To the Roman much of this work would seem inelegant. The Greeks 'did not, like the Romans, simplify and clarify their legal notions, nor did they avoid hybrid forms and combinations of different legal institutions'. Their law of sale was the product not of juristic logic but of notarial ingenuity; its material is to be found not in the general propositions of institutional writers but in the draftsmanship of the documents relating to particular transactions. Pringsheim finds all this very alien to his own early Romanistic training but not altogether dissimilar from the spirit of the English law with which he later became acquainted.

A short review can do little more than draw attention to the main thesis of the work under consideration. To the present reviewer the most striking feature of Pringsheim's work is his demonstration of the peculiarly Greek character of Greek law in the respects indicated above. Among many subsidiary points of interest there may be specially mentioned the principle (recalling the English doctrines of subrogation and resulting trusts) by which a third party who had advanced the price to the buyer could acquire a sort of equitable title to the property, and the application of this principle to the form of manumission in which a god purchased the slave with money provided by the slave, so that the slave became beneficial owner of himself; also the valuable discussions of the meaning of particular technical words (e.g. *προπωλητής*, not, in Pringsheim's view, a broker but the seller's predecessor in title who might, to use another English term, be 'vouched to warranty') and of the historical development in the meaning of such words as *τιμή*, *ὄνος*, *ὄνη*, *ὄνησις*, *πρῶσις*, *πῶλην*. Whether or not the specialists will accept all Pringsheim's conclusions in detail, his study of the evidence on these and other points cannot be neglected. Its value is enhanced by the careful indexing of terms discussed and texts referred to.

We may share the author's admiration of the courage of the German publisher in undertaking a work in English for which no British publisher could be found, and we compliment the German printers on their remarkably high standard of accuracy in both Greek and English, but we regret the poor quality of paper and binding.

A. H. CAMPBELL.

**Geschichte der griechischen Religion. II. Die hellenistische und römische Zeit.** (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft V. 2. 2.). By M. P. NILSSON. Pp. xxiii + 714, with 16 plates. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlag, 1950. DM 48.

This imposing volume completes the best general work on Greek religion that has hitherto been published. It is worthy of its predecessor, which appeared ten years earlier and brought the story down to the age of Alexander. Dealing as it does with so different an epoch, it differs somewhat in tone also; although official cults are dealt with at adequate length, the chief emphasis is laid upon, and the most interesting sections treat of, the developments of non-official, more or less private worship, with especial stress on those philosophical and quasi-philosophical movements which for a considerable time furnished intelligent minds, unattracted by Christianity, with something which they might believe in without doing violence to their reason or their Hellenic, or rather Graeco-Roman cultural heritage. Even with seven hundred odd pages available, and leaving much to be said on so important a topic as astrology by the authors of a forthcoming volume of the *Handbuch*, the author has had to compress and select at every turn; it is a great tribute to his skill that the work is not only full of exact and well-documented information but thoroughly readable. The illustrations also are unusually good, seldom familiar to anyone but specialists on ancient religious art, and they have been clearly reproduced.

The book is divided into two main sections, which treat respectively of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. To these is prefixed a short sketch of the work hitherto done on this highly complex subject by scholars of various nationalities, including a warm tribute to A. D. Nock. The Hellenistic section begins with a brief sketch of the conditions prevailing in the lands which had made up Alexander's empire. With p. 48 begins an account of religion in the Greek cities proper,



attention being paid not only to ritual but also to the accompanying literary, economic and social phenomena, the importance for instance of Greek schools in keeping traditional cults as well as other parts of the native inheritance alive, the finances of cults, including the sale of priesthoods, the positions of mysteries, oracles, and other prominent features of the ancient worship and such new ones as found their way in among the older forms. The relation of religion to the Hellenistic monarchies is next dealt with (pp. 125-74), including naturally ruler-worship. Next follows a long section of over 100 pages, which handles 'Persönliche Religion und religiöse Weltanschauung'. This includes a comparatively full treatment of such things as the various explanations away of religion, the attitudes of the chief philosophical schools, the relations of religion to morality, and the rising tide of sheer superstition and of belief in all manner of wonders. In an excellent summing up, stress is briefly laid on the change from a city-state's religion, with its gods who could be and were more or less localised, to the cosmopolitanism which by logical necessity brought with it the demand for a world-wide deity of some sort (p. 279). Another matter of no small importance is (p. 285) that the religion of that age was one belonging to the towns and cities, whereas the ancient worship had had its basis in the life of country-people. Individualism is of course given its due attention, but not treated in isolation nor out of its framework of the political surroundings in which the individual then found himself. This feeling for balance and proportion indeed marks the whole work and gives it much of its value; what have on occasion been treated as if they were isolated tesserae are fitted together into a significant and understandable mosaic.

The Roman period is treated at somewhat greater length (pp. 295-701), as is natural, not only for chronological reasons but because of the bewildering complexity of the material. Again a short introductory section is devoted to orientation; 'Die Griechen in der römischen Welt' are sketched historically and with regard to their intellectual and emotional condition. A little over sixty pages (311-75) suffice for the actual Greek cults of the period, including the mysteries and the worship of deified Emperors; but belief in general needs a much larger space (pp. 376-554). Since this includes philosophy, oracles of all kinds, astrology and sun-worship, the 'lower beliefs' which produced so vast a crop of marvellous stories, pseudo-scientific justifications of magic and the various gullibilities which went with it, the attitude of the time towards death and the dead, the impinging of religious beliefs on literature, the tendency towards monotheism in its varying forms, and the relation of religion to ethics, the allowance is not extravagant. One outstanding and wide-reaching phenomenon, syncretism, is then given a large section (pp. 555-672) to itself, which treats successively of Hermetism, Gnosticism, the foreign deities and the mystery-cults with their alleged theology. A concluding section of a score of pages draws attention especially to two important matters. The first is the vast influence exercised by the 'Ptolemaic' theory of the universe, concerning which moderns are apt to forget that while its vision of the heavens was cramped and small compared with that of modern astronomy, it was vastly bigger than the popular views which it superseded not only in the minds of philosophers and scientists but in the general consciousness. The second topic is the psychology of religion in late antiquity. The book has indexes of names and subjects, and a few corrections of details in the first volume are made on p. 714.

As is to be expected, points of view are put forward and interpretations offered with which not all will agree. They are, however, invariably reasonable, and to be defeated only by producing stronger reasons against them. For example, the author rejects completely all Christian evidence concerning the Eleusinian Mysteries (p. 335), making a doubtful exception in favour of Hippolytus' statement concerning the reaped ear of corn. A footnote (p. 466, n. 1) disposes of all attempts to connect the Star of Bethlehem with any real astronomical phenomenon; it is merely a particular instance of the popular belief, unconnected with developed astrology, that everyone has his star, small or great according to his importance, which appears at his birth and 'falls' when he dies. Nilsson insists (e.g. p. 597) that we know very little of the popular mystery-cults of late antiquity, and especially, that we have no right to say that there was anything like a theological system connected with them. He sees (p. 577) nothing Zoroastrian in the dualism which is so characteristic of late pagan speculation. The cleavage is not, as in the Persian reformer's system, between a good and an evil principle manifesting themselves throughout the world, in matter as elsewhere, but between the material and the ideal universes, and the source of it is ultimately Plato. Interesting suggestions, small and great, are to be

found everywhere; as an example of a principle which might serve as a basis for some elaborate study of religious conditions, not only antique, I mention the passage on p. 548 which connects the monotheistic views of the Imperial age with the existence of an earthly monarchy, while as a small but ingenious point I cite the note on p. 631 (3), which suggests that the gesture of the *benedictio Latina* may be due to some old and revered priest of one or another of the competing religions suffering from Dupuytren's contraction and being in consequence unable to extend the last two fingers of his right hand. On some small points slight corrections and additions seem possible. For example, on pp. 208 ff. we meet once more the often repeated statement, due ultimately to the scholiast on Theokritos, that that poet's second idyll (in the conventional numbering) is derived from the mime of Sophron of which a fragment was not long ago recovered. This is at least unproven, for except that both pieces deal with a magical process and mention Hekate, there is no discernible resemblance; Sophron describes certain women who apparently are ridding a house of the goddess's undesirable attentions, Theokritos a girl who is trying to win back her faithless lover. On p. 469 (twice), what is the authority for a word *incipium*, instead of *principium* or *inceptum*? Some other references to Latin sources seem not altogether happy. On p. 606, comment is made on Apuleius, *Met.* xi, 23, where Lucius describes the preliminaries of his initiation. The priest takes him to the nearest baths *et prius sueto lauacro traditum, praefatus deum uniam, purissime circumrotans abluat*. On *praefatus* . . . *uniam* Nilsson remarks 'd. h. wohl, dass er ihm (to Lucius) Absolution erteilte', which is surely mistaken. The priest, before sprinkling Lucius, said 'By your leave, gods', or something to that effect, to make sure that he did not offend them by carrying out this much of the ceremony in an unconsecrated building used for ordinary secular cleansings. Again, p. 622, he discusses Firmicus Maternus' words (*de errore*, 18, 1), *in quodam templo ut in interioribus partibus homo moriturus possit admitti, dicit, etc.* The word *moriturus*, he says, 'führt uns auf einem anderen Lieblingsgedanken . . . nämlich die Vorstellung, dass, wie der Gott sterbe und wiederaufstehe, so auch der Myste durch gewisse Riten sterbe und als wiedergeborener Mensch aufstehe', and then proceeds to discuss the difficulties involved in this, especially the absence of any real evidence that Attis, the god in question, was supposed to have risen from the dead. But, while the difficulties are real and dying and rising gods common enough, I doubt if *moriturus* here means more than 'mortal', contrasted by sneering implication with the gods who, according to misguided pagans, do not die. A little further on, Firmicus speaks of either another rite or still the same one; Nilsson will have it that he is now discussing Osiris, not Attis (p. 612; *de errore* 22, 3). This may be right, but is not proved by the Latin text, save by a most forced interpretation. Firmicus says: *tu deum tuum liberas, tu iacentia lapidis membra componis, tu insensibile corrigis saxum*. This is rendered, 'Du befreiest deinen Gott, du füllst die liegenden Glieder des Steines zusammen, du verbesserst den gefühllosen Stein'. But however we understand the first clause, *componis* is simply the common word for laying out (or by an easy extension, burying) a corpse, whether mangled or not, and therefore *corrigis* must be interpreted in the light of it; it means 'lay straight'. But such things are trivial, to be put right by correcting a few lines here and there.

The bibliography is not bulky, consisting of a list of those works oftenest quoted; others are of course referred to in notes. Generally these represent the latest scholarship, but as that does not stand still and the writing and printing of this volume occupied some years, an occasional addition may now be made. Thus, the Samothracian cult is mentioned, pp. 96, 145, without any use being made of B. Hemberg's good monograph, *Die Kabiren*, for the sufficient reason that that did not come out till 1950; Callimachus is often quoted, but not from Pfeiffer's great edition of the fragments (Oxford 1949, a little too late); Campbell Bonner is quoted, p. 501, note 10, but not his excellent *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor, 1950, again manifestly too late). The printing has for the most part been well done, save for a wrong accent or a dropped or misplaced letter here and there, but on p. 365 the notes have been badly disorganised.

H. J. ROSE.

#### Cults, Myths, Oracles and Politics in Ancient Greece.

By M. P. NILSSON. (Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae, Series in 8°, 1). Pp. 179. Lund: Gleerup, 1951. Price not given.

A good deal of hasty criticism has been directed against students of Greek mythology because they do not construct a 'myth-ritual pattern', or integration of myths with social and religious life, after the style of those discovered, on more



or less cogent evidence, among numerous other peoples, savage, barbarian, and civilised. This monograph, which its author regards as a parergon, the fruit of some leisure moments won from more pressing work, presents in masterly fashion the part really played in classical times by the cults and myths of the Greek peoples.

An introduction states the problem and insists on the general acceptance by Greeks of their traditional lore, with more or less modification on rationalistic or moral grounds of this or that story. The first of the five chapters (*Cults and Politics*) gives an account of the modifications introduced into worship by political changes, instancing among other things the removal, or, where that was impossible, the duplication of cults when Megalopolis was founded, and the centralisation of Attic worship in Athens, especially the relations of the dominant city with Salamis. A brief account is given also of the relations of religion to foreign politics in Athens, e.g. the introduction of the worship of Bendis. Chap. II (*Myths and Politics*) again has much to say of Athens, which gives us such interesting phenomena as the adoption of Theseus, originally no Athenian, as the national hero, and the remaking of much of the legend of the Ionian migration. Examples from other regions, however, are not wanting, for instance the dealings of the Dorians with Herakles and the strange history of the Iamidae. A sort of corollary is furnished by the next chapter, *Myths in Political Propaganda*, and ranges from the tragedians to the genealogical figments of the Diadochoi. Chap. IV (*The Use of Myths in the Late Age*) carries the story down to Roman times and gives illustrations, not by any means all well known, of the amount of influence exercised on the Romans by mythological arguments. Chap. V treats of *Oracles and Politics*.

All these chapters are packed full of learning, and the notes point the reader not only to documentary proofs of the assertions in the text, but to all manner of fascinating byways of mythology, history, and literature. Due emphasis is laid on the continuing activity of myth-making and on the way in which myths became less the traditional possessions of the unlettered and more the business of the learned and the politically minded, to whom they were simply, for the most part, the early history of their native country.

Two valuable appendices treat respectively of *The Ionian Phylae* (the author avoids the traditional rendering 'tribes' as apt to have misleading associations) and *The Phratry*. He as apt to have misleading associations) and *The Phratry*. He thinks it probable that the former go back to Mycenaean times and represent the organisation of the people in that age (p. 149). The latter are discussed as regards 'their role in religion, or to express it more exactly, in the collective piety of early times'. The theme is interestingly set forth and illustrated.

H. J. ROSE.

**Thespis. Ritual, Myth and Drama in the Ancient Near East.** By T. H. GASTER. Pp. xv + 498. New York: Henry Schuman, 1950. \$8.50.

It is a well known and quite likely theory that Greek drama arose from a ritual performance of mimetic type, possibly embodying the substance of a myth or myths; such a rite as is known to exist among sundry peoples who have not, however, developed a literary form as the Greeks did. This book is meant to advance the acceptance of the hypothesis, but will not do so, for although erudite, it lacks accuracy (at least where the present reviewer, who is not a Semitologist, can check the facts) and also cogency of reasoning. The author begins by stating the theory, that drama evolves from seasonal ritual, and goes on (pp. 6 ff.) to outline the nature of such a rite, which he divides into the stages of mortification (i.e. fasts, mourning, and similar performances), purgation, which is the expulsion of evil influences, invigoration (by such means as ritual combats and sexual orgies), jubilation, the return of the dead and the communal meal. This complex occurs characteristically, though not always, at the turn of the year, i.e. at a solstice or an equinox. His facts are of a kind familiar enough to all social anthropologists; some parts of his classification, especially the sharp differentiation between 'mortification' and 'purgation', are open to criticism, which, however, would be more in place in an anthropological periodical. He invents a new technical term, 'topocosm', defined (p. 4) as 'the total corporate unit of all elements, animate and inanimate alike, which together constitute its [the community's where the rite is performed] distinctive character and "atmosphere"'. I do not think the word a great improvement on the familiar 'environment'.

After an outline of the form which these seasonal rites take in the Near East, the author goes on to look for traces of them in all manner of documents, as the Ras Shamra tablets, passages from the Hebrew prophets (especially Joel) and psalmists,

certain Hittite writings and two or three Egyptian records. In some of these it is plain we have to do with ritual, and more than once it can be fairly called dramatic; in others the interpretation seems highly uncertain, being arrived at by a generous proportion of comment (including stage directions) superadded to texts which are often full of lacunae, difficult to make out because couched in a language imperfectly known, or, as in the case of the Hebrew poems, handed down to us in a tradition more than suspected of editorial interpolation. Several times the author himself admits that the 'seasonal pattern' is not easy to find (pp. 225, 267, and elsewhere). It at least leaves it a tenable theory that there never was a ritual pattern of the sort he postulates in the compositions in question, and that if ritual at all, they belong to a different, non-dramatic type of ceremony.

But it is in the application of his general theory to Greek material that he shows himself most inadequate. Errors of detail, such as wrong or irrelevant references, misunderstandings of texts, sheer misstatements of fact, and acceptances of highly controversial theories as if they were proved or at least generally accepted, are so numerous that to attempt to list them would mean writing a bulky pamphlet. I content myself with noting one incomprehensible omission and one gross paralogism. Nowhere are the objections to what may be called the ritual theories of the origins of Tragedy which the late Sir Arthur Pickard-Cambridge set forth in Chap. 2 of *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy* fairly faced and dealt with. Without this, there is hardly a case for a supporter of such theories to argue, if he goes further than the general proposition that some kind of origin in ritual is probable by analogy. The paralogism is in the treatment (especially pp. 431-7) of Eurip., *Bacch.* 64-169 and its comparison with the paean of Philodamos Skarpheus (text in Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, 165-71; Diehl, *Anthol. Lyrica* II, pp. 252-7). From this it emerges that the two poems have in common a certain amount of phraseology and something of their arrangement, and the conclusion drawn is that Euripides is preserving a 'ritual pattern' going back to the primitive days of Tragedy. The facts are, that the dramatic situation in Euripides calls for a hymn to be sung to Dionysos by his votaries, and that the poet, being a good dramatist, makes it sound like a real hymn by using some traditional material. If this proves the origin of Tragedy from Dionysiac ritual, then Soph., *Ant.* 781-805 and Eur., *Hipp.* 525-64 show that it sprang from the cult of Eros, and Soph., *Phil.* 827-38 hints that the worship of Hypnos had something to do with it. Euripides would have written what he wrote if the origin of drama had been wholly secular and unconnected with any religious ceremonies.

We still want a re-examination of the whole thorny question by someone who adds to wide knowledge a minute scholar's accuracy and a truly critical mind.

H. J. ROSE.

**Das Mutterrecht.** 2 vols. By J. J. BACHOFEN. Pp. 1178; pl. 9. Basel: Benno Schwabe & Co., 1949. 65 Sw. Fr.

*Das Mutterrecht*, in spite of all its faults one of the great books in the history of learning, was published first by Kraus and Hoffmann at Stuttgart in 1861, and in an unaltered reprint by MM. Benno Schwabe at Basel in 1897. This firm, surely one of the oldest in the world—it dates from A.D. 1496—is now publishing a very carefully edited edition of Bachofen's collected works, and among them is this second edition of *Das Mutterrecht*.

J. J. Bachofen, A.D. 1815-1878, was the son of distinguished Swiss parents, and one of his earliest compositions before leaving school in 1831 was a disputation on the subject, chosen by himself, of patriotism. The new collected edition of the works is doubly patriotic. By scrupulous integrity and vigour the editors and publishers have rendered service to the honour of a great citizen of Switzerland, and to the cause of scientific truth which the Republic of Learning exists to defend. 'There seems to be a certain excess in all greatness', wrote A. N. Whitehead. Bachofen had greatness, and probably genius. But where he exceeded it is no laughing matter for conscientious editors. In his manuscript, of which a little still survives, and in the earlier part of the previous printed version of *Das Mutterrecht*, the footnotes were mixed with the text. There is no sufficient indication where sections of text begin. Orthography was reckless; there were for example seven different spellings for 'Alcmaeon'. To correct, to complete, and to bring up to date the many thousands of references must have been arduous work indeed. Bachofen might write almost anything. When he wrote 'Hermann, mull.', 'Hermann, catal.', or something similar, he really meant 'J. Chr. Wolf, *Mulierum Graecarum, quae oratione prosa usae sunt, fragmenta et elogia* . . . accedit catalogus feminarum olim



*illustrum*, London, 1739'. The Editors have nevertheless reduced both text and notes to beautiful order. They have self-effacingly corrected, and not recompiled, Bachofen's own Index. There is a Stellenregister, a List of seven Errata, and a notification of two mistakes. There is also an Epilogue of 117 pages, in which Professor Karl Meuli discusses first Bachofen's life, then the creation and the effect of his greatest book, and finally the history and the present reconstitution of its text. Everything about this Epilogue is to me, at least, impressive: the thorough use for the first time of many unpublished biographical documents, the carefully-balanced judgements concerning Bachofen's very complex character, temperament, and sometimes extravagant views, the extremely able estimate of the importance and the permanent value of the book, and the unrelenting force of professional honour with which, at the end, there are listed fifteen words of which the spelling has been modernised, and forty-seven others which, correct in the impression of 1861, appeared incorrect, through printers' errors, in the impression of 1897 and in certain volumes of excerpts derived from it. The care of the three Editors, and also of Dr. H. G. Oeri of MM. Benno Schwabe, makes any search for errors a thankless task. Even British names, a severe test, are right; though I find 'McLennan' spelt 'Mac Lennan' (p. 1115), and 'Worsley' in the first impression, corrected not, as surely it should have been, to 'Wortley' but to 'Worthley' (pp. 852, 1124). Of misprints and other slight errors I recall 'virutis' (p. 127), 'Minyerinnen' (p. 610), 'Helenens' (p. 787), 'Hamburg 1840' (p. 787 note 5), where 'Hamburg and Gotha, 1839, 1840' are the correct places and dates for Klausen's great work, an Alcaic stanza wrongly set (p. 810), and ΒΑΙΛΛΑΞΑ (p. 910). Sometimes, as in 'Heräen' (p. 692) the letter 'r' is imperfect. The form εἶναι, and one or two others, in Sappho fr. 136 B = 109 D (p. 796) might raise questions in readers' minds.

So complete is the Edition that it carries in Professor Meuli's Epilogue an extremely satisfactory review of itself. There the discovery of 'Mother-Right' as a coherent and recurrent cultural pattern is squarely credited to Bachofen. Others before him had made certain relevant observations in part forestalling him, and his own faults were very great. But the credit remains his; and it also is very great. In the Epilogue this is made plain, and a great deal besides, such as Bachofen's great ability and energy, his intense conservatism, his primary religious interest, his contempt for 'exact scholarship' and even common-sense archaeological method, his vehement defiance of Mommsen, who had been kind to him, and the simple humility of his wish to be judged not by his success but by his endeavour. He had, of course, great learning and great insight, and for them scholars in general may now be ready to forgive him his faults. In Britain resistance is to be expected on account of the regular British reluctance to accept abstract argument and intuitive reconstructions. But there, perhaps even more than elsewhere, the new Edition is greatly needed, and demands close attention, because questions concerning what is known of 'Mother-Right' and what is implied by it are still living issues, but cannot properly be approached without direct access to their one primary source. The Epilogue very honestly gives the main criticisms of *Das Mutterrecht*, which are anyhow fairly well known, though probably the book itself never has been yet. Bachofen trusted his speculations too much and generalised his conclusions too soon. He despised *Quellenkritik*. He believed in a series of universal cultural phases in early history, starting with *ius naturale* and promiscuity. Some of his inferences from late authorities, for example concerning the inner nature of Egyptian religion, are positively arrogant.

It is very easy to continue fault-finding until it becomes hard to believe that there is anything left. But there is, whatever faults are found. The discovery of 'Mother-Right' and with it the conception of the *Kulturkreis* is an immense scientific advance. Meanwhile, a bright light is being shed in many dark places, or places which are at least much darker than they seem. The revelations concerning the Lycians and the Epizephyrian Locrians, for example, remain thrillingly brilliant. A vast number of single references finds unexpected and satisfactory explanation. *Das Mutterrecht* needs to be read, not merely known by repute, or even consulted, for otherwise the detail escapes. Also, Bachofen's ideas and discoveries are easily associated with, or even attributed to, his successors, and that must necessarily distort argument.

Bachofen's conception of religious history is superficially ridiculous. 'The Apollonian', 'The Dionysiac', and such conceptions as 'der hetärische Tellurismus' are treated as if they had the solid contour and sharply distinguished outline of a red pillar-box. He goes far beyond his great contem-

porary Nietzsche. He sometimes seems to imagine that till Greek cultural history was well started humanity had not thought of sky-gods or other male gods. Even a hundred years ago that was needless. Yet on the other hand Bachofen's insight was in the important things sometimes far ahead of his time and perhaps still ahead of ours. He ignores the migration of Greeks from the north into Greece, but he asserts the importance of Lycia and of oriental influence on Greece, and on Italy also, which he regarded, perhaps brilliantly, as a home of lost causes. He also saw religion as the central fact, shaping human change and development. In all this I should venture to think him far more intelligible to us than he was to his contemporaries. Now that he can for the first time be read with pleasure, the due profit from his rare, but wild, perspicacity may at last be gained.

W. F. J. KNIGHT.

**La mantique Apollinienne à Delphes : essai sur le fonctionnement de l'Oracle.** By P. AMANDRY. Pp. 290; pl. 6. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1950.

This is an excellent and judicious account of the many problems connected with the most famous of ancient oracles. If the results are, as the author remarks (p. 231, in a handy summary of his work) largely negative, this is due to the scrappy and unsatisfactory nature of much of the evidence, and not to any lack of diligence or perspicacity on his part. Twenty chapters, divided into two groups, respectively of six and fourteen, handle first the method by which the oracles were given and then the machinery of consultation.

Beginning with the Pythia, he points out in his first chapter that there is no real evidence to support the romantic descriptions in some authors of her passing into a wild frenzy, like that of Vergil's Sibyl, imitated by Lucan in his highly coloured account of Appius' consultation. The fourth chapter deals with the implications of 'possession' and points out that raving lunacy is no necessary part of it; there is therefore no support for those theories which suppose that the alleged delirium was Dionysiac in its nature and a later accession to the Apolline methods. He does not, perhaps, sufficiently consider what did happen when the prophetic was inspired; my own view is that she passed into a trance, probably genuine, like that of a modern 'medium', be the psychological or physiological explanation of that what it may. It is of at least as much importance, however, to make clear, as the author does, that we have no right to suppose that no other kind of divination was in use at Delphi, and a fair amount of evidence that other kinds, notably lot-casting, were employed on occasion (Chapters III, VI).

Use is made of this to suggest (Chapter VII) a solution of the inconsistent accounts of the number of times in the year that the oracle was available. The succeeding chapters go into a number of curious matters, often ending with a frank confession that we do not know the answers to the questions we are impelled to ask. Chapter VIII deals with the *παλαίος*, but the mention of Terminus (p. 100) among deities to whom it is offered would be better away, while Aeschylus, *Ag.* 96, surely disposes of the suggestion that an offering so described was restricted to any one class of gods. The next chapter gives interesting details regarding the *προβόλο*, the tenth deals with the ecclesiastical personnel. Incidentally, the passages cited on p. 119 as indicating that there was more than one *προφῆτης* do not prove it, for the plurals might refer to successive holders of the office. The end of this chapter and the next three regretfully but justly conclude that we know little or nothing of the functions of the *Hosioi* and of the use made of the laurel, the sacred stream or spring, and the famous tripod itself. Chapter XIV attacks a long-standing belief. We have a number of Delphic responses preserved; the majority are in plain and simple prose with no ambiguities at all (p. 167, preceded by a collection of the relevant texts). Incidentally, it should be mentioned that the author had intended to add to his book a complete corpus of all Delphic oracles, but learning that Mr. H. W. Parke had a similar task on hand, he passed on his material to him (p. 15). The following chapters are historical and topographical; they treat sanely but with no very new or surprising conclusions of other oracles than the Delphic, of the evil days upon which Apollo fell in Hellenistic times, of his relations with Dionysos, and of the claims of Ge to have been the original mistress of the shrine, also of the whereabouts of her precinct. Chapter XIX traces the history of the philosophical theory, for it never was anything else, concerning the 'vapour' which allegedly affected with Pythia; Chapter XX summarises the formation of the Delphic legend.

Where so much is sound and good, it does not seem worth while to list a few passages where the interpretation of



some detail of the evidence seems to the reviewer wrong or dubious.

H. J. ROSE.

**Die Kabiren.** By B. HEMBERG. Pp. 420; 4 maps. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1950. 25 Sw. Kr.

This is a very learned doctoral dissertation, the outcome of long and laborious research fructified by the strong good sense shown by the author in a field which has brought forth too abundant crops of wild speculation and ill-supported statements. He gives more than his title promises, for besides collecting all he can find about the Kabeiros themselves, he has put together what amounts to a corpus of all cults of deities like them, i.e. groups of divinities (they seem to be for the most part male) distinguished by a general title (he most characteristic is simply *πυλάριοι θεοί*) but within the group either not differentiated individually or so slightly that except for an occasional distinction of sex (frequent use is made of Chapouthier's monograph, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse*, Paris 1935), there is little by which any worshipper can have told one of the figures of his cult from another. Hemberg does not go far into speculations as to the meaning and etymology of such non-adjectival names as we have, nor into the question whether any of these groups can claim to be pre-Greek in origin, for as he more than once points out, material for a satisfactory solution is lacking in most cases; he seems also to be of opinion (p. 25) that for an understanding of the nature of these cults such problems matter comparatively little.

Besides an introduction, a series of appendices, full indexes and sketch-maps showing the distribution of the cults in question, the main part of the work is divided into seven chapters. The first gives a long list of those groups of gods who, while called 'great' are neither Samothracian nor Kabeiros. Of many of these cults remarkably little is known, and the great majority are Hellenistic, several being also foreign. Chapter II handles the Kabeiros themselves, while Chapter III treats of the gods of Samothrace, whose only connection with the Kabeiros seems to be theoretical identifications by several writers, the earliest being Herodotus. Chapter IV handles certain deities of unknown name whom the author considers 'kabirotartig'. After these enumerations come three chapters of more general exposition; Chapter V examines the 'Kennzeichen der Megaloi Theoi', Chapter VI the characteristics which they share with deities related in one way or another to them, and Chapter VII is a 'Zusammenfassung'. There follow six appendices, dealing with a number of particular points, such as the names of the Samothracian deities, the heroes who had a cult on the island, and other matters of minor, but not negligible importance. The four maps show the distribution of the cults respectively of the *πυλάριοι θεοί*, the Kabeiros, the Samothracian gods and sundry other groups, including the Dioskouroi.

As usually happens when a really sound and thorough treatment of a subject is put out, there are fairly numerous problems of interpretation left for future researchers. The author has furnished good store of material for these, and little if anything for those who come after him to reject as erroneous or irrelevant.

H. J. ROSE.

**Some Notes on the Demonology in the New Testament.** (Symbolae Osloenses, fasc. supp. XII.) By S. EITREM. Pp. 60. Oslo: A. W. Brøgger, 1950.

This monograph is of wider interest than its modest title and size would indicate. Its subject is the miracles of healing in the New Testament, especially those recorded of Jesus, and their relation to the beliefs and exorcistic practices of those times. Whatever view may be taken of the historicity of the miracles, it certainly is well to know exactly how far they were in accordance with what was then generally thought concerning diseases and their cure by other than the regular medical means. Professor Eitrem is thoroughly competent to explain the then current opinions, which he does by extensive reference to the magical papyri and other relevant documents.

It is of course clear that the N.T. writers certainly, Jesus himself probably, held the opinion that many diseases, especially those affecting the mind, perhaps all bodily ailments, were due to the evil influence of malignant powers possessing or otherwise influencing the patient. The usual technique for non-rational cures was to enlist, by magical means or by prayer-formulae, the help of stronger powers who were or might be made friendly and could drive out the offensive spirits. There were also current sundry forms of folk-medicine, on the border between magic and rational procedure, such as the application of spittle or the touch of a hand. The former is still to be found, the latter I am inclined to explain by

supposing that, as disease was known to be sometimes contagious, so also the health of a particularly healthy person was thought to be. Some such folk-cures are recorded of Jesus (p. 45 sqq.), but characteristically and, it would seem, especially after the Baptism (p. 8) he is represented as using none of the regular techniques at all, but simply telling the disease, or the disease-spirit, to go away, and that by virtue of the *πνεῦμα* which was in him. He did not, for instance, use any names of power, though his own name was already so used in his lifetime (Mk. 9, 38), and very often later, both by his own followers and by outsiders.

In explaining this, the author gives what amounts to a handy compendium of the then common methods, including a discussion of magical formulae (pp. 14 sqq.), names of angels (12 sq.), the vowels (20 sq.), and other points of interest. He devotes several pages to the case of the Gerasene demoniac (p. 54 sqq.), making the interesting remark that 'Legion' himself uses exorcist's technique in trying to resist Jesus (p. 57).

On p. 39, the name of Plutarch should be in square brackets in line 15; on p. 41, I doubt if *ὁποῦντα* in Plat., *Lys.* 223a7 means more than that the *παῖδες* spoke with a foreign accent. On p. 46 the Essene avoidance of spitting might be paralleled by the restraint of Makarios of Alexandria, who never spat from his baptism to his death (Pallad., *Hist. Laus.*, p. 58, 3 Butler). The English style would be bettered by a little revision.

H. J. ROSE.

**Handbuch der Archäologie, 4: die Denkmäler Jungere Steinzeit und Bronzezeit in Europa und Einigen Angrenzenden Gebieten bis um 1000 V. Chr.** By O. MENGHIN, F. MATZ, and G. KASCHNITZ-WEINBERG. (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, ed. W. Otto and R. Herbig, VI.) Pp. xxiii 402, pll. 56. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1950. DM 45.

In this volume are contained a section by O. Menghin on Europe apart from the cultures of the Aegean and Italy, and another by Kaschnitz-Weinberg on Italy, with Sardinia, Sicily, and Malta. But this review will take account only of the section *Die Ägais*, by Matz.

This account of the Aegean in prehistoric times, according to a note at the beginning (p. 179), was originally undertaken by Karo, but completed and largely rewritten by Matz, to whom Karo handed over his material in 1939. It offers a useful and up-to-date collection of references and summary of the present state of knowledge; but it may not commend itself to a non-specialist who is looking for a vivid and interesting general account of the early Aegean in the light of modern research, such as for example Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, was in its time. Whether a general account of this nature was intended, or would in fact be appropriate in a series like the *Handbuch der Archäologie*, is of course open to debate; but it is perhaps fair to suggest that the somewhat conventional array of photo plates, while they might very properly adorn an account of general interest, serve no particular purpose in a handbook for scholars. It may also be regretted that more space and attention was not given to setting in a clear light the material culture of the various parts of the Aegean at different periods, and less to discussing theories on controversial problems of origins and dating, where the author's own particular views are apt to intrude without adequate supporting argument.

The actual statement of fact, however, is remarkably careful and free from error as far as the present writer has been able to check it. A certain amount published outside Germany since 1939 has inevitably not been accessible to Matz. But apart from this the references are very full and thorough, with few obviously important omissions; although, in connexion with early metal working in the Aegean, O. Davies' stimulating thesis about possible tin mines in the Delphi area (*JHS* XLIX, 89) surely deserved a mention; and nothing is said of the interesting fixed hearths in Middle Minoan houses at Mallia (*BCH* LVI, 77).

Matz believes that the Messara 'Tholoi' can only have had flat roofs, and explains the traces of burning in them by the collapse of roofs which had caught on fire; in spite of this he claims that the Mainland type of Tholos tomb originated in Crete. The statement that the Tholos at Knossos opened by Mr. Hutchinson in 1939 is of Late Minoan II date was made of course without knowledge of the excavator's recently stated opinion that it cannot have been built later than c. 1550 (*Antiquity* 1948, 73). The theory that the poverty of known Middle Minoan graves reflects a draining up of the propertied classes by the rise of Princes is interesting, but assumes a great deal.

The text is carefully printed and the photo plates are well reproduced.

M. S. F. HOOD.



**Excavations in Azarbaijan, 1948.** By T. BURTON BROWN. Pp. xiv + 279, 17 pl. London: John Murray, 1951. £4.4s.

This is an important book on the archaeology, hence history, of the Near East. A vast amount of information has been gathered, classified, and studied, and all this results from a mere *sondage* of six weeks, which was all for which permission was granted. It also had to be done on an incredibly small sum of money, hence without assistants.

Several deep pits were sunk through occupation strata to as much as 46 feet below the surface without reaching the bottom, and an astonishing amount of material was found. The stratification falls into a number of well-defined periods. A full account is given of each, levels noted of everything found, sections are given of the only two pits that produced anything worth mentioning, a contour map of the mound is provided, and the pottery and other objects are illustrated, catalogued, described, &c., &c.

Some of the striking changes in pottery etc. that mark the strata are as follows:

Period N was the lowest level reached. Its pottery consisted of a little well-polished red ware and some that was grey, thin and very hard, but rough.

Period M is represented by a stratum about 3 feet thick and was probably of short duration. Painted pottery begins to appear.

Period K was some 22 feet thick, the thickest stratum that was encountered. It is characterised by grey or black polished pottery.

In Period G this pottery ceases and is replaced by new types, noticeable among which is a 'flower-pot' of buff ware. This stratum was nearly 6 feet thick.

The D Period pottery is very different from anything that had gone before, and has many parallels all over the Near East. There were at least two varieties of polychrome ware using red and black or red and white paint, and birds begin to appear as a decorative motif. A new animal, the pig, makes its appearance, but there were no signs of oxen, though they had been kept in the earlier period, K. Sheep, however, were common in both these Periods. In one grave which appears likely to belong to the end of the Period there were several skulls. The jawbones of two of these had evidently been wrenched off at the time of burial; a habit not unknown in other parts of the Near East.

Period C is marked by the general use of yet new shapes of pottery painted in a new style of polychrome. Birds continue as a decoration and a stag appears. The birds are reminiscent of the 'Scarlet Ware' of Mesopotamia and of Susa II. At Geoy Tepe they are painted in lustrous colour as are the birds at Phylakopi and at sites in Greece just before the Late Helladic I Period.

In Period B decorated pottery ceases and only plain vessels are in use. The shapes are also different. The swan-shaped spout appears and a very Eighteenth Dynasty looking tall cup (Fig. 34, no. 38).

Period A introduces us to the early Iron Age with a fine series of pottery shapes. This immediately underlies the Christian and Muslim settlements of to-day.

Burton Brown subjects each of his finds to a detailed study of the parallels that can be found all round the Near East, and the amount of learning put into this is very great, as indeed it need be. By so doing he is enabled to get approximate dates for his various Periods. To this is added a very long excursus on the varieties of polychrome pottery in the Near East.

Probably belonging to Period D a necklace was found including a number of blue glass beads. The colouring matter proves to be cobalt, a material not used in Egypt until the Eighteenth Dynasty, when it is probable that it was imported from some such area as Azarbaijan. At this time cobalt blue beads were being worn at Mycenae, where lumps of cobalt were also found. In this same Period D a piece of material was found which the analyst describes as 'a glassy iron slag'. By the time of the next Period, C, there is little doubt that iron was being worked. In Period A one vessel was found with the head of a horned animal for a handle. This is of the Early Iron Age, and is to be seen again on the strange 'Warrior Vase' of Mycenae dating to the end of the Bronze Age. The horned-animal-head handle appears on the picture of a Keftian vase in the fifteenth century and once again in the twelfth century B.C.; both at Thebes in Egypt.

In Part III detailed reports are included by a number of experts on their special subjects. Thus, we have accurate scientific accounts of the beads, copper, bronze, and iron found; also of the human crania, and of the flint industry. These reports are amplified by full archaeological studies

with tables of the analyses of copper and bronze in the Near East in the later third and the second millennia. The analyses of the specimens of iron are similarly followed by a study of the early finds of the metal. The crania are of the later third millennium and are unmistakably of Mediterranean type. They are specially important as coming from an area that has hitherto been unknown anthropologically.

Part I consists of a brief survey of the mounds that were encountered in considerable journeys through northern Persia. It also includes an account of the little that was known of Azarbaijan before the present work was undertaken.

To complete the work Part IV is added which is a fully documented essay on the outlines of the history of the Bronze Age in the Near East. It is of course a vast subject, but like the working up of the finds this is characterised by a wide knowledge of the archaeology of the area. The foundations for this were laid some years ago in the author's *Studies in Third Millennium History* and his article in the *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, XXVIII, 8-26. One result of the study is to show that there is much evidence for a movement of peoples southwards and westwards from such a direction as Azarbaijan, Asia Minor, or similar countries. While the southward movement is a commonplace in Egyptian history, the westward one does not yet seem to have received general recognition in Aegean history.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT.

**Troy. General Introduction. The First and Second Settlements.** By C. W. BLEGEN, J. L. CASKEY, M. RAWSON and J. SPERLING. Volume 1. Part 1, Text. Part 2, plates. Pp. xxiv + 396 and xxvii + 473 plates. Princeton: University Press (for University of Cincinnati), 1950. (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege). £11 15s. (\$36).

Troy is the key archaeological site of the Aegean world. It was here in 1870 that Schliemann discovered, as he rightly said, a new world for archaeology. Its Homeric renown has made its name familiar to all. As an archaeological site it is one of the most important in the whole Aegean area, from the long succession of settlements that arose there from the dawn of the Bronze Age until the time of Constantine, and from the consequent depth of the strata that have gradually accumulated upon the hill of Hisarlik. The labours of Schliemann and his colleague Dörpfeld, and the long series of publications issued by them have given the world the main lines of the development of the cultures that succeeded one another at Troy and Ilium. Schliemann, from the beginning of his work in 1870 until his death in 1890, conducted seven major campaigns and only in his last was it revealed to him that the Sixth Settlement in its latest phase was that contemporary with the zenith of Mycenae. In two more campaigns Dörpfeld and his collaborators explored the Sixth Settlement, laid bare its magnificent walls, and proved to the world that Schliemann was right when from his earliest years he believed firmly that Troy had existed and that Homer's Trojan War had been a reality. It was Homer that inspired Schliemann, and through his faith in the historical basis of Homer Schliemann incurred the disapproval of the professional scholars whose outlook barely extended beyond the walls of their studies. He was the gifted non-professional. By his attitude towards Homer and towards archaeology and by his great discoveries which were really epoch-making he aroused the jealousy of professional scholars and archaeologists. A few, such as the great Virchow, recognised the true value of his discoveries, and others abroad such as Gladstone and Sir Charles Newton applauded his work.

In 1902 Dörpfeld and his helpers put forward their great book *Troja und Ilium*, which gave the story of Troy from the archaeological aspect. Since then with the great impulse given by later scholars such as Evans our knowledge of Aegean archaeology has increased apace. Countless scholars of many nations have all contributed to the study of the Aegean, its isles, its coasts, and the contacts of its civilisation with neighbouring lands. Work has been resumed at two of Schliemann's sites, Mycenae and Tiryns, and further exploration there has taught us much. A culture akin to that of Troy has been found in Lesbos and on the other bank of the Hellespont. It had thus become urgent that fresh excavation should be undertaken at Troy and a series of questions be asked of the site. The object of any new work would be 'Wissenschaft', as Schliemann always insisted. This has been carried out by the University of Cincinnati's Expedition to the Troad with the blessing and active co-operation of the veteran Dörpfeld, the German Archaeological Institute, and the Turkish archaeological authorities. The leadership was entrusted to Professor Blegen, whose long experience of Aegean excavation



and its methods and technique and whose archaeological knowledge made him the best possible field director. The organisation in Cincinnati was undertaken by Professor and Mrs. Semple. They bore the burden of the financial support without which the work could never have been carried through. For seven seasons Professor Blegen and his colleagues have laboured and they have issued from year to year preliminary statements of the results in the *American Journal of Archaeology* pending the preparation of a definitive account of their work.

The two parts of Volume I now lie before us and deal with the First and Second Settlements, for Professor Blegen wisely abandons the old term 'city' for the successive strata of occupation at Troy. One Part contains the text and the other the illustrations, plans, and maps. They are produced in the admirable manner which the Princeton University Press has now made familiar to us in the many archaeological and art books it has published. Typography, printing, collotypes, plans, and the convenient and handsome appearance of both parts are a credit to the Press and to the Meriden Gravure Company. The text falls into three parts. First comes a general introduction detailing the organisation, the objectives, the seven campaigns, the methods of excavation, the classification of the finds, the settlements and their phases, and the plan of publication. Secondly, follows the First Settlement showing the areas examined, with its subdivisions, its external relations and chronology, and the classification of the miscellaneous objects and of the pottery. To this succeeds a detailed description of the three main subperiods and their stratification and of the finds from them. Lastly, the Second Settlement is then dealt with in the same manner. There is a thorough and excellent index, but an index of the illustrations, maps, and plans would have been a useful supplement in a book demanding so much illustration.

As might be expected, the main aim of the expedition was sober, serious research without any 'compulsion to recover objects of startling or sensational character with high publicity value'. The first task was to re-examine the whole problem of Trojan stratification in the light of recent research, to isolate undisturbed deposits of the successive strata and thus produce a continuous sequence of 'certified' material to illustrate the cultures of the Settlements. The second task was to search for tombs. The third was to explore the Troad and to try to map all ancient sites in its north-western part and to test some of them, if possible.

The first objective has been triumphantly achieved, and the finds of all kinds, architectural, ceramic, and miscellaneous, give most valuable evidence for understanding and differentiating the strata and provide a better foundation for an attempted chronology.

The second objective was only partially successful. A cremation cemetery of the Sixth Settlement was discovered. In the exploration of the Troad one important new site was found, Kum Tepe, contemporary with and partly anterior to the First Settlement. This will be published in a separate supplementary monograph. At Balli Dag, once erroneously claimed by several scholars as the site of Homeric Troy, tests were made which proved conclusively that it is not a prehistoric or Homeric site.

The manifold evidence collected by the Cincinnati Expedition demonstrates once more beyond doubt to all reasonable beings that Hisarlik must be the site of the Homeric Troy. It is the largest prehistoric site in the whole area, and the houses, walls, and treasures discovered in this great mound by its successive excavators, Schliemann, Dörpfeld, Blegen make it quite obvious that no other site in the Troad can possibly be considered as Homeric Troy. One other question may here be cleared away. In the past some Phormiones<sup>1</sup> who have suggested alternative sites for Troy have called Hisarlik an 'incineration necropolis'. Here plainly set out is evidence that makes any such idea sheer hallucination. It is curious that in one or two other cases the strata of burnt and destroyed prehistoric settlements have been miscalled 'incineration necropoleis'. At the neolithic site of Raşev near Plovdiv in Bulgaria one of the excavators mistook the burnt ruins of huts for sepulchres.<sup>2</sup> It should now be taken as archaeologically proved that Hisarlik is Troy and that the Troy of Homer had a real existence. It must be remembered also that the Greeks and Romans accepted Hisarlik as the site of Troy, as proved epigraphically by the Hellenistic and Roman towns both called Ilium which later arose on the hill.

This book is thus severely—and rightly so—factual. Professor Blegen and his colleagues have transferred to paper the strata and the objects they found with their contexts so that

any intelligent person can see and interpret the development of civilisation at Troy itself and its contacts with neighbouring archaeological areas in the Aegean, in Europe, in Asia Minor. They have based their judgments on their own discoveries and observations although they have studied and learned from the publications and work of their predecessors. One of the difficulties arising from the earlier excavations was the correlation of the finds with the houses, fortifications, and other architectural features of the various levels of occupation. The Cincinnati Expedition paid especial attention to this point and above all to the pottery which every field archaeologist knows is one of the essential keys to the interpretation of a site. At any excavation, more especially that of a prehistoric site, it is vital that the member of the staff in charge of the excavation of any particular area should follow in person the finds from it so that he can observe from day to day the sequence of the pottery. Failure to do this may result in the divorce of the finds from the context in which they were found and may lead to serious misunderstanding. The reader of this book will see that the most meticulous care was observed in this matter, and thus the results as regards the finds and their stratification may be taken as 'certified'. The animal bones and the shells from the different Settlements were carefully 'isolated' and have been studied by Dr. Gejvall. One interesting point that emerges is that the horse first appears in Troy VI.

The world has long accepted the 'Nine Cities' of Troy. Professor Blegen and his colleagues found that the main divisions of the strata presented themselves where Schliemann and Dörpfeld had already distinguished them. Although these nine periods of occupation are essentially correct, they do not adequately represent the complexities of the site. In spite of the need for revision, however, the authors have decided to keep the established numbering of the strata of Troy. To begin now a new system of numeration would make it extremely difficult for anyone to equate the new evidence with the old and to form anything like a fair estimate of both the old and the new archaeological and historical information to be derived from it. The traditional numbering of the strata of occupation is thus wisely retained by Professor Blegen. The only modification is the change in the dividing line between Troy VIII and Troy IX, which is moved back from where Dörpfeld had placed it at the beginning of the Christian era to the gap discernible between classical and Hellenistic Ilium. In their broad aspects the successive Settlements show a continuous culture with no visible break from the beginning of Troy I on the bed rock down to the end of Troy V. These five Settlements cover the Early Bronze Age of the Aegean. With Troy VI a new culture establishes itself upon the earlier and another long continuous period begins which covers the Middle and Late Aegean Bronze Ages. This includes all of Troy VI, Troy VIIa and the first phase of Troy VIIb. An entirely new culture appears on the scene with the knobbed ware (*Buckelkeramik*) of the second phase of Troy VIIb, which presents peculiar problems of its own. To this succeeds the classical Settlement of Troy VIII, whose beginning and end are not yet fixed. Finally comes Troy IX, the Hellenistic and Roman Settlement, the one which can be called a city, the city which was nearly chosen by Constantine as the site for Constantinople. A more logical system of numbering could have been worked out to correspond better with the Early, Middle, and Late divisions of the Aegean Bronze Age as we now know them. To summarise, the Early Bronze Age is covered by Troy I to V, the Middle and Late Bronze Ages are covered by Troy VI, Troy VIIa, and the first phase of Troy VIIb. Dörpfeld before his death had recognised that Troy VIIa, which is a cultural continuation of the Sixth Settlement, could have been appropriately called a final phase of Troy VI. The second phase of Troy VIIb with the knobbed ware would then have been a Settlement to itself. Troy VI is divided from Troy VIIa not by a break in culture but by an event, because the last phase of Troy VI perished in an earthquake which necessitated much rebuilding. Ever since 1890 Troy VI has been called the Homeric Troy. Since the Cincinnati Expedition's work now proves that Troy VI covers the Middle Bronze Age as well as most of the Late Bronze Age and that Troy VIIa with the first phase of Troy VIIb is really the final phase of the Late Bronze Age culture of Troy VI, it is not correct to say that Troy VI is the Homeric Troy. The epithet Homeric should instead be given to Troy VIIa, which belongs archaeologically to what may be called the Homeric Age, the close of the Bronze Age. This is the final stage of the so-called Late Mycenaean (i.e. of the Late Helladic III) period. This transference of the epithet Homeric from Troy VI to Troy VIIa does not involve a change in the numbering or division of the successive Settlements of Troy, but in their

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, *de Orat.*, 2.19.77.

<sup>2</sup> Gaul, *Neolithic Period in Bulgaria*, 152.



historical identification. It is recognition of the archaeological fact that Troy VIIa and the first phase of Troy VIIb are really the last phase of Troy VI. The vital point to remember is that Troy VI and VIIa with the first phase of Troy VIIb together cover both the Middle and the Late Bronze Age and that it is to the close of the Bronze Age that the epithet Homeric should be applied.

In the First Settlement much fresh evidence was acquired. The amount of pottery and the number of small finds that can be definitely attributed to it has enormously increased. A comparison of this book with Schmidt's catalogue reveals this instantly. The herring-bone technique in some of the walls of this Settlement found by Schliemann was not decorative, for it is now clear that these walls were covered with clay plaster. Thus when the house was completed the herring-bone technique was invisible. A more important point is that the First Settlement, like the Second, was defended by a fortification wall, which naturally encloses a smaller area than that enclosed by its successor. It suggests that from its foundation Troy was the seat of a prince and a government. It was not a town or city in the modern sense of the term, but like all the Settlements with the exception of the Ninth, probably the Eighth, and perhaps the Third, was a 'castle' or 'acropolis' for the ruler, his family, officers, and their servants and soldiers. It is not to be compared with a fortified medieval town like Chester, but with some royal citadel like Edinburgh Castle. This first Settlement did not consist of one stratum only, but, as is shown clearly by the successive layers of deposit and the floors and walls, can be subdivided into no less than ten layers. The culture was continuous and an unbroken evolution can be discerned throughout its duration, and through the Second, Third, and Fourth Settlements until the end of the Fifth. The ten phases of the First Settlement can be grouped into larger phases, called Early (I, a, b, c), Middle (I, d, e, f) and Late (I, g to j). No burials belonging to the First Settlement were found, but six graves of infants were discovered, two below House 102 and four others outside the north wall of that building. Nothing earlier than the first phase (Ia) of the First Settlement ever stood on the hill, because that layer is founded on the native rock.

The accurate and patient observation of the pottery and its provenance enabled the excavators to identify imported wares. At the same time comparison with neighbouring areas, Thermi in Lesbos and the Protesilaus mound on the Thracian Chersonese, revealed a striking similarity in culture. Troy I is to be equated with the first five towns of Thermi and the first three at the Protesilaus mound. The parallelism of these is obvious, and they can thus be fitted into an archaeological sequence. More absolute dating is, however, not yet possible. In the First Settlement of Troy were found many examples of Early Helladic and Early Cycladic pottery which indicate communication with the islands and with the Greek Mainland. It is noticeable that this imported pottery does not appear in Early Troy I, but only in its Middle and Late periods. Further the imported ware does not belong to the wares which are recognised as belonging to the first Early Helladic and Early Cycladic deposits. The authors conclude, 'All that can safely be said at the moment then is that the appearance of imported Early Helladic ware in the middle phase of Troy I can hardly be anterior to the middle stages of the Early Bronze Age in Greece and the Cyclades'. This caution is most laudable, for although some excavators speak of Early Helladic I, II, and III, such divisions of the Early Bronze Age on the Greek Mainland or in the Cyclades can be at present only tentative and need confirmation and correction by results from other sites. Further, the points of contact between the Helladic and the Cycladic sequences and those of Minoan Crete are not fixed, and those of Crete itself with Egypt, where alone an approach to absolute dating is possible, cannot yet be called 'certified'.

The Second Settlement was divided by Dörpfeld into three stages based entirely on the architectural evidence, mainly that of the fortifications. The Cincinnati Expedition's main concern in this Settlement was therefore to obtain new information to facilitate the correlation of the pottery and other finds with the architecture. Fresh architectural evidence was derived from walls built above one another. The deposits connected with them were 'isolated', so that the successive stages of the evolution of the culture could be identified. Careful study of the strata of Troy II shows no less than eight successive stages, one of which is a kind of transition or sub-phase between IIa and IIb. In order, however, not to confuse the equation of their phases with those of Dörpfeld the excavators give this sub-phase no special designation. Thus their IIa, IIb, and IIc are the same as Dörpfeld's II 1, II 2, and II 3, and are followed by four other layers, II, d, e, f, and g.

Phase IIg was the final period of Troy II when the whole Settlement perished in a violent conflagration. This was the 'burnt city' which Schliemann called Troy II in some earlier accounts and identified with the Troy of Homer. To this belonged most probably the Great Treasure and most of the other 'treasures' of gold objects found by Schliemann. It is most striking that of the 1,481 gold beads and pins found by the Cincinnati Expedition in Troy II no less than 1,478 come from this phase.

The chronological and external relations of Troy II are by no means clear and are to say the least complicated. Hitherto there has been a tendency, under the influence of Schmidt's and Dörpfeld's works, to ascribe to Troy II most of the finer objects which Schmidt cautiously attributes to Settlements II to V. The danger of this is made clear by the Cincinnati excavations which now show that Troy III, IV, and V were not miserable villages as some have described them. The culture of the Second Settlement evolved without a break through them and many things which appear first in Troy II continued in use with little change even to Troy V. The authors take as an example the so-called *depos amphikypellon*, a type studied in detail by Bittel, which had a wide range from Svilengrad in Bulgaria and Boeotian Orchomenos to the interior of Asia Minor. Unluckily one of the best examples from Asia Minor has only a dealer's provenance and the Svilengrad specimen is a stray find (Gaul, *op. cit.*, 230). Most of the chronological comparisons so far have been made on the assumption that the *depos* belongs to Troy II. It first occurs in Troy IIc and continues through the remaining phases of that Settlement. It occurs often in Troy III, is not rare in Troy IV and Schliemann asserts that it continued into Troy V. Thus to use this as a basis for chronological comparisons cannot lead to certainty, for the *depos* can be traced through thirteen consecutive phases. The same difficulty is encountered in trying to use objects from Troy of stone, metal, and bone for similar purposes. A steatite Minoan bowl ascribed by Bittel to Troy II is given by Schmidt to Troy II-V, but its provenance is nowhere recorded. A fragment of a Minoan stone lamp was found by the Cincinnati Expedition in a Roman trench. Similarly though, as remarked, most of Schliemann's 'treasures' can be assigned to the last phase of Troy II, the Second Settlement, there is insufficient evidence to preclude the possibility of their being later in date.

The imported pottery is after all the safest guide for trying to trace archaeological and chronological contacts with neighbouring areas. The Early Helladic and Early Cycladic wares found in a 'steady trickle' throughout the various phases of Troy II show the general contemporaneity of Troy II with those periods on the Mainland and in the Islands. Unfortunately when closer synchronisms are desired, it is practically impossible to establish them. The Early Helladic and Cycladic examples cannot yet be said to have fixed positions in their own sequences and, as already stated, the contacts between them and Crete and between Crete and Egypt are still in a state of flux. Thus 'the margin of error is too great'. The authors give one striking example. Two fragmentary specimens of a *depos* from Troy IIg and some other pieces seem to be counterparts of a *depos* from Boeotian Orchomenos. This has no fixed place in the Orchomenian sequence, but Kunze assigns it to a late stage in the Early Helladic period. This might be regarded as a definite contact between the Early Helladic period and Troy II, but an exact synchronism is not possible, for fragments of similar two handled goblets of the same fabric occurred in Troy II, d and f, and Troy IIIb, and so no sure parallel can be determined. The conclusion is that as regards dating little more can be said than that Troy II in phase IIg perished by a most destructive fire before the Early Helladic and Early Cycladic periods came to an end.

All these points and much more can be tested by the reader from the detailed presentation of the archaeology of the site in this book. Professor Blegen and his collaborators are to be congratulated on the masterly manner in which they have reproduced Troy on paper, archaeologically speaking. Those who do not know the site now have it brought to their studies in all its details, so that they can consider at leisure all its ramifications and complications which the authors here set out with absolute impartiality. Those who know the site will delight to have their knowledge of it refreshed and enlarged. Bearing in mind the old dictum that all excavation is destruction, Professor Blegen and his colleagues have observed and have recorded everything and they thus have given us a document of permanent value. No one, in short, can afford to disregard this book which is of vital importance to any student of Aegean and Near Eastern archaeology. It surpasses everything yet published about Troy, for instance M. Schaeffer's recent stratigraphical and chronological suggestions.



It is difficult to decide which aspect of the author's work deserves greater praise, the patience and accurate observation of their records, or the restraint and self control with which they have eschewed theory and have confined themselves to a straightforward account of archaeological facts. We owe our heartiest thanks to Professor Blegen and his colleagues and shall look eagerly for the succeeding volumes of this model publication of a model excavation. May we beg them, when this is done, to write, as only they can, an archaeological and historical guide to Troy in one volume? This would be invaluable to the layman.

ALAN J. B. WACE.

**Vounous 1937-8.** Field-report on the excavations sponsored by the British School of Archaeology at Athens (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae XIV). By E. and J. STEWART. Pp. 394, with 107 plates and 285 text figures. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1950. Sw. Crs. 125.

The site of Vounous in Cyprus, which is an Early Bronze Age (Early Cypriot) cemetery, lies at a small distance north-east of the village of Bellapais, in the foot-hills of the Kyrenia hills facing the sea. It was fast being destroyed by looters from the surrounding villages when in 1931-2 the writer of the present review started a campaign to save it. He worked on behalf of the Cyprus Museum and opened forty-eight tombs, the contents of which were published in *Archaeologia LXXXVIII*. Later (1933) the National Museums of France in conjunction with the Cyprus Museum (Schaeffer, *Missions en Chypre*, 26 ff.). Both enterprises were concerned with the north part of the site, which Stewart styles site B, and which is now proved to be the later part of this extensive cemetery. It is the earlier part (site A), which occupies the east area of the site, that the present authors investigated, with excellent results. These are now published in a final form. The Expedition was sponsored by the British School at Athens, and both the sponsoring body and the authors should be congratulated on the remarkable finds and the meticulous presentation of the results.

Site A proved to contain the germs of those remarkable achievements in ceramic art earlier brought to light in site B. The contents of the site A tombs have that truly powerful character which is found in all 'archaic' expressions, in contrast to the sophisticated and exuberant achievements observed in site B. In this respect the cultural stage brought to light in site A remains for the present the most impressive in Early Bronze Age civilisation, after the lapse of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic cultures and the introduction of west, or rather south-west, Anatolian elements in the Early Bronze Age. The size and austere beauty of the 'cult-vessels' on pls. 79-93 and particularly those on pls. 81-85 cannot but impress, and they seem to imply a powerful cultural development the significance of which is still a problem. The finds in site B (e.g. *Archaeologia LXXXVIII*, pls. 8-10, 20-25, 30) had previously thrown a flood of light on the religious, domestic, and general cultural life in Cyprus at the close of the third millennium B.C., but artistically the finds from site A, here presented, are outstanding.

The authors divided their tasks as follows: Mr. Stewart described the tombs, and Mrs. Stewart the finds. Their work, both in the field and in the publication, has been carried out with utmost care and attention to detail. They warn us at the beginning that their book is simply a field-report. There is no discussion of the finds, nor any attempt at relative or absolute chronology, nor a summary of the observations regarding burial customs, etc. All these 'conclusions' will be dealt with in a second part to be included in Vol. IV. 1 of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. This method of separating the field-report on an excavation from the analysis of its results and the conclusions to be drawn from them has been used by others (e.g. the Swedish Cyprus Expedition); it is none the less preferable that every field-report should be accompanied by a chapter, however short, giving the summary of the excavator's position on the various problems elucidated or presented by his excavation. In the present case the postponement of all such discussion is the more to be regretted, since the material here published is of the first importance for the beginnings of Bronze Age culture in Cyprus. However, Mr. Stewart has recently given a very short summary of his opinions about the Vounous A material in the *Handbook of the Nicholson Museum*, (Sydney, 1948), 126 ff., and thus made his position known on various problems of the Early Cypriot, even though briefly. There he touches on the relationship between the material of Vounous A and the contents of the Philia graves subsequently discovered by the writer of this review (cf. *ILN*, March 2, 1946, pp. 244-5; *Guide to the Cyprus Museum*, 12 ff.,

and *Khrokita*, 320 ff.). Mr. Stewart's considered views on that relationship and the problems of dating and origins would have been welcome at this stage. Their omission from the present volume will, needless to say, enhance the interest with which his contribution to the Swedish Cyprus Expedition volume will be awaited.

The description of the graves is clear. Extensive and detailed observations of the stratigraphy are recorded, and conclusions from them are drawn wherever possible. They show how much can be learned from close observation of all the facts connected with a grave, even though sometimes such facts may be elusive and susceptible of different and sometimes subjective interpretations. For example, in Tomb 87 A and B, which is a double-chamber tomb with access from a single dromos, chamber A is earlier than B and each contained a single burial. In chamber B the author found, apart from other finds, fragments of a large cut-away neck jug with incised decoration (7a, pl. VIII), but not the complete vase. The author sees in the existence of this fragmentary jug evidence of an earlier burial in the chamber (p. 80). The presence of this fragmentary vase is meagre evidence for the author's interpretation, especially in a cemetery where so much pottery was used for tomb furniture and where breakages must have occurred while the vases were brought to the graves. The dromos had been completely reopened for the burial in chamber B, and it is not impossible that in the course of all these operations the fragments of the broken jug might equally well have found their way into the chamber during the burial. In another instance (Tomb 100) the author explains the presence of a broken knife blade, with the upper portion missing, as the result of 'killing' personal possessions at the grave-side (p. 111). This, I feel, is a more correct way of interpretation. The fragmentary knife-blade was placed on a sherd, which means that parts of broken vessels did find their way into graves in one way or other.

Of Tomb 137 in site B, where the authors also excavated a number of tombs to complement their evidence from site A, Stewart observes (p. 306) that when the grave gifts were deposited in the chamber there was in it a layer of silt some 14 cm. in some parts and 5 cm. in others deep. From this he concludes that 'the pottery found in the chamber formed a second burial group and that the grave had been in use before. As the silt on which the objects lay was sterile, it can be assumed that earlier remains were removed'. It is possible, and I think preferable, to explain otherwise the presence of the silt on which the pottery was placed. It is evident that the cutting of a tomb in the rock must have taken some time, and it is to be assumed that people had their tombs (which were often family ones) prepared before the time came for their use. It is therefore possible that following the cutting of the tomb the dromos remained open and that some silt found its way into the chamber before the burial. That dromoi were left open even after a first burial has been observed already, e.g. by Dr. E. Sjöqvist at the Early Cypriot cemetery of Vrysi tou Barba, near Lapithos (cf. *SCE*, I, 78).

Another interpretation which might be questioned is the assumption of a very violent storm within forty-eight hours of the burial in tomb 160 (p. 204), sufficiently violent for the seepage to bring down a portion of the roof and lift a rigid body. The displacement of two skulls from the bodies in tomb 164 chamber A is explained by assuming that the bodies belonged to 'two unfortunate warriors' buried simultaneously. But the author admits (p. 242) that following the burials in chamber A, two more were made in chamber B, which opened from the same dromos, and that possibly chamber A was simultaneously opened and a flask deposited in it at the time of the second burial in chamber B. Might not the displacement of the skulls have occurred then? In fact, by one of the skulls in chamber B were found two objects, one of gold and a second of copper, and it would not be surprising if at the re-opening of the dromos for this burial in chamber B, chamber A was re-opened and the metal objects removed from it (in which process the skulls would have been displaced) and offered to the fresh occupant of chamber B. The lack of reverence for previous burials is well known, and has been frequently noted in the present publication.

In several cases of single burials (e.g. T. 119, p. 171) the author suggests as an alternative the possibility that these burials were secondary, without, in the reviewer's opinion, adducing sufficient evidence. On the other hand, some cases where there were two burials in a chamber (e.g. T. 90, p. 94) the author prefers to regard as contemporary double burials, but without suggesting any explanation for the double death. No doubt the author will have more to say about such cases in the second part of his work.

The descriptions of the finds are clear, accurate, and concise



They testify to exceptional skill and patience in dealing with such a mass of material, remembering that altogether eighty-four tombs were opened.

The presentation of the material is excellent, and both the drawings and the photographs, as well as the plates of finds, are of very good quality. The difficulty which Stewart encountered in preparing the book, arising evidently from war conditions (p. 10), have left very few traces in the finished product. Note the remarkably good coloured plates (I-III) the drawings for which were prepared by Mrs. Austin Kennett. The letterpress is remarkably free of misprints; but for 'Vrysi tou Baba' read 'Barba' (pp. 109, 242, 390), the Early Cypriot cemetery excavated by Myres and Markides (1913) and the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (SCE I, 33).

The report includes twelve appendices by various authors, including analyses of metal objects, material of stone implements, remains of wood, human and animal remains, impression of basketry on a sherd, etc. The author himself adds a table of potter's marks.

In conclusion, the authors are to be congratulated on a careful and conscientious piece of work and on the excellent presentation of their important material, which also does credit to the publishers. A first instalment from an excavator who is planning further work in Cyprus, it augurs well for the Australian Expedition which Mr. Stewart hopes to bring to Cyprus.

P. DIKAIOS.

**Homer and the Monuments.** By H. L. LORIMER. Pp. xxiii + 552, with 32 plates and 61 text figures. London: Macmillan, 1950. £3.

This book will please many people. It is, as indeed it was bound to be, since it comes from Miss Lorimer's pen, a wonderfully complete survey of the evidence, and there can be no doubt that the author has achieved her purpose, which was 'to review the archaeological record of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages in the Aegean area, to give as full an account as possible of those elements in it which find a place in the Homeric poems, and to relate this survey to that other record, shadowy, fragmentary, often enigmatic, which is preserved in the poems themselves'.

Her first two chapters are entitled, 'Prehistoric Greece' and 'Foreign relations of Greece in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age'. These chapters are mainly historical. In the other part of the book the author turns to a very detailed survey of the material of the period described in the Homeric poems, in a series of chapters on: Cremation and Iron; Writing in the Aegean area and the age of illiteracy in Greece; Arms and Armour; Dress; The Homeric House, and in a final Chapter on Conclusions.

Miss Lorimer accepts without question certain views. She believes, for example, that the Dorians had entered the Peloponnese before the end of the twelfth century, and that 'there can be no doubt that the colonisation' (of Cyprus) 'was carried out in the Late Bronze Age and in the main by Achaeans of Peloponnesian origin'. Again, she says that, throughout the sub-Mycenean and the Protogeometric periods, 'no evidence of any change of population' can be observed in Greece, and that, in Protogeometric days 'the Greek world was virtually severed from contact with the East'. Of the rite of cremation she says that 'since cremation was not brought into Greece by any invading or intrusive population, the disintegrating Achaean society which adopted it must have found the model abroad', perhaps, she thinks, at Hissarlik. However, she also says that 'cremation apparently exercised a strong attraction on those Dorians who spread to Crete, Thera and the Dodecanese; it looks as if they first met it in Crete and were responsible for its diffusion and dominance in the other islands'. Of the contemporary appearance of iron she says that 'it is hardly conceivable that . . . the iron of Syria made its way up the Aegean. It is more probable that it came, whether by ship down the Black Sea or by a land route north of it, from the iron-producing regions of eastern Anatolia'. She adds that 'in a period contemporary with the Protogeometric cemetery of the Kerameikos Crete had relations with Cyprus and commanded an adequate supply of iron, probably through Cyprus as an intermediary. In all probability she was herself the intermediary through whom the people of the Kerameikos first got their iron swords, and afterwards, when they had begun to manufacture their own tools and weapons, tapped the same ultimate source of supply'. Of the extremely important problem of the Kefiu people she says that the evidence whereby Hall tried to connect them with Lykia 'is of the flimsiest, but the conclusion may nevertheless be right'. This may be thought a little strange, considering the extraordinary detail into which Mr. Wain-

wright has gone, in his attempt (usually accepted to-day) to connect those people with Cilicia.

Miss Lorimer writes for over two hundred pages on the subject of arms and armour, and the wealth of knowledge she offers the reader is astounding. But why does she say, apropos a Cypriot figurine in the Cesnola Collection holding an 'hour-glass'-shaped shield that it 'is improbable that this unique monument represents a Cypriot type'? It might be wiser to suspend judgement on the implications of this piece.

To some extent Miss Lorimer is interested in parallels between east and west, and is concerned in discussing the feathered head-dress and round shield types of equipment used by the Urartians. But she does not discuss their buildings, such as the 'Greek Temple' of Musasir, or the other buildings with columns and 'Ionic' capitals, nor the arched fibulae and decoration so astonishingly similar to Greek geometric work, which Chantre published. And some may regret that she does not discuss the use of the concentric circle motif, both as drawn by hand and as drawn with the use of a compass. Her omission of any serious discussion of the Kefiu problem is also unfortunate. For, while some aspects of the history of the period are very exhaustively examined, an impression gains on the reader that other aspects are but lightly regarded, and it is possible to feel that the book is out of balance.

Miss Lorimer believes that both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were cast into shape within a single lifetime, the lower limit of the date being that of the major interpolations, which precede the time of the adoption of hoplite armour, but follow the time of the 'revival' of relations between east and west. It still, however, remains doubtful whether relations were ever broken off, and until this point can be satisfactorily settled, chronology is surely best left indefinite.

As an example of the traditional approach to early Iron Age history in Greece this book is quite excellent. It is a most wonderful piece of scholarship. No student of Homer, nor for that matter any prehistorian, including such as do not believe that the Dorians were of the time of the very beginning of the Iron Age, can now, or ever will, be able to dispense with this extraordinarily detailed discussion of material.

T. BURTON BROWN.

**The Architecture of Ancient Greece. An Account of its Historic Development.** By W. B. DINSMOOR. 3rd ed., revised. Pp. xxiv + 424, 71 pl., 125 text figs. and a map. London: B. T. Batsford, 1950. 30s.

Greek Architecture is a subject incomprehensible to nearly all students. Existing handbooks are slight or out of print, excavation reports inaccessible, unreadable, and too big. When, therefore, the greatest living authority, after forty years of continuous study, decides to rewrite one of the best-known handbooks, the event is of some importance. The omens seem good, and all Hellenists will wish the author well. Unhappily, the result falls short of the occasion. Dinsmoor has not considered his audience. While far too intricate for the beginner, his work is too dogmatic for the scholar and suppresses too much of the available evidence to satisfy a student of even moderate intelligence. It contains a wealth of clever theories and neat conclusions, but few will have the skill or patience to unearth them.

The Bibliography, the foundation of the book, which aims at exhaustiveness up to A.D. 1944, is well arranged and far more comprehensive than any before it. Together with the Introduction, a fairly complete history of archaeological research in this subject, it takes the study a further step out of the present chaos. One may criticise a few details. We could not gather from Dinsmoor that Paoli's is the most authoritative early book on Paestum, representing, as it does, the work of Count Gazola. The sixth-century date Dinsmoor gives on p. 144 for the anta-capital of Slavochori has been disputed. But he omits this object from the bibliography and even the index. On p. 321 Dinsmoor interests the reader in Alexandria Troas. But the bibliography omits it. On p. 132 we read of the scale-patterns on early Chian mouldings. But nowhere does Dinsmoor mention the excellent photographs of them in Miss Shoe's *Greek Mouldings*. We shall find other omissions as we proceed.

The first chapter describes the Bronze or 'Aegean' Age. Dinsmoor defends his view that early houses on the mainland had pitched roofs, stresses the love of the Bronze Age peoples for columns on the central axis of a building and decides that their architecture (including the 'triglyph frieze') is an 'earlier parallel development' rather than a direct ancestor of the Classical Greek. One is not, however, too comfortable over his discussion of roofs in the Bronze and earlier Iron Age: for instance, he has not mentioned that the house-model in fig. 15 has a mixture of two sorts of roof.



Coming to the origins of Greek Architecture, Dinsmoor gives a good short account of how cities, cults, and temples presumably developed. On pp. 46-7 he is surely right to follow Demangel and assign the carved frieze of Prusias to the parapet of the early temple. He thus suggests another link, besides Pliny's, between Crete and early Ionia, where we have similar carved or plastic parapets.

On p. 54, with the Olympian Heraion, D. first discusses units of measurement, a subject to which he devotes a large proportion of his book. His passages are difficult to co-ordinate, the units in which he tabulates difficult to sort out, but broadly speaking he seems to hold we can reduce the chief dimensions of most Greek buildings (though not the Parthenon!) to round numbers of 'Doric' or 'Ionic' feet, the 'Doric' foot, rather greater than the English, being used in Greece proper, the 'Ionic', rather less than the English, in Asia Minor. The closer scratches on the seats of the Theatre at Athens, about 13 English inches apart, represent, thinks D., a 'Doric' foot of 12½ inches. This tallies very well, he finds, with a 'Doric' foot of 12.835 inches (326 mm.) ascertained by measuring the blocks of the Erechtheum and comparing their ancient dimensions as given by the Chandler Marble. One can also obtain a 'Doric' foot nearly equal to it by subscribing to that of 321 mm., used, according to Doerpfeld, in some dimensions of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia: but only by discounting Pausanias, who expressly gives several main dimensions irreconcilable with Doerpfeld's. On this conflicting evidence for an important building, a test case for his theories, D. never breathes a word. Similarly, we find a discrepancy between the 'Ionic' foot of 11.575 English inches D. takes from Priene (p. 222, n. 2) and of 11.587 English inches he infers from Didyma (p. 229, n. 2). This variation may not worry the reader, but should disturb D., who objects (p. 229, n. 2), though on grounds never stated, to von Gerkan's 'Ionic' foot of 11.583 English inches. Again, D. is puzzled (pp. 250-1) to find no length common to Greek stadia, let alone six hundred of his own 'Doric' or 'Ionic' feet. As a corollary of his views, D. can find no single dimension of exactly 100 Greek feet in the Parthenon. It will have been called the 'Hekatompedon', he thinks, after its predecessor. Yet it is surely no accident that the stadium at Athens, which should represent 600 Greek feet, is in English measurements 606 ft. 10 in. long, while the east front of the Parthenon is 101 ft. 3½ in. on the stylobate, almost exactly one sixth of it.

On pp. 56-7 D. treats the evolution of Doric from timber to stone forms. 'We may unhesitatingly affirm', he says, 'that the triglyphs in the frieze represent the ends of beams', and his fig. 20 shows, accordingly, ceiling beams of enormous scantling placed at intervals of one metope only. But were the oldest triglyphs beam-ends? In the very archaic wood and terracotta entablature of Theron they seem to have been 80 cm. high—proportionately as large as on the classical Athenian buildings—and on D. fig. 20, appear no smaller. Even with Vitruvius to support us, must we 'unhesitatingly' decide against, e.g., Guadet, who considered triglyphs began as small piers? Again, the Doric ceiling beam comes, as all know, above frieze level. The only exception D. cites, the Athenian Propylaea, is very treacherous.

The ancestry of the Ionic Order D. treats with exhaustive erudition in a very valuable passage (pp. 58-64). He protests, rightly, against the name 'Aeolic' for the early 'vertical-volute' capitals of Neandria and Larisa, only, however, to transfer it to those of circular plan with pendant leaves found on the sixth-century Delphic treasures of Massalia and Clazomenae. Neither of these towns was Aeolic and, though Pergamum later employed the form in its stoas, its buildings are too late to count as evidence. It seems better to forget the term 'Aeolic'. The row of columns down the centre of the temple at Neandria D. denies supported a ridge-pole. The more finished front of each capital, he argues, was clearly meant to face the front door, and each is in the form of a bracket. Thus they 'supported not the main ridge-beam but the individual transverse girders'. Unfortunately, the true bracket-capital from Larisa (Plate XVIII) is from an external peristyle (Dinsmoor) or a votive column (Schefold), while, as D.'s own fig. 21 makes clear, the capitals from Neandria are not brackets. D. does not mention that his plate of the Larisa capital perhaps shows it wrongly assembled (cf. Schefold, *Larisa I*, pl. 19a).

Chapter III, on the rise of the Doric style, is perhaps the most valuable in the book. Here D. has introduced a few new pictures, as of the Hekatompedon (Pl. XX) and the Gorgon Temple at Corcyra, into the humdrum repertory of the textbooks. He also gives us a manageable account (at last!) and a set of plans to a common scale of all the temples of Selinus. He lists all variations in the early examples of Doric

and decides conclusively against an Egyptian ancestry for the Doric column. He shows, surprisingly but cogently, that the Pisistratid Olympieum was Doric. He argues cleverly from the peristyle of the Temple of Aphaia on Aegina that it was set up before the cella. Finally, he maintains with some plausibility that the Western Greeks invented carved metopes, not found in old Greece much before 500 B.C.

The attempt on p. 82 to deprive every single early temple of 'Chinese' pediments (horizontal for some distance inwards from the corners) seems defeated at Calydon. Dyggve, *Das Laphrion*, figs. 177-81 and 221 seem to me impregnable against Dinsmoor's attacks both here and in *AJA* LIV.

Sicilian Doric temples appear, wherever possible, to have avoided columns inside their cellas, and D. supposes that the larger, at least, were normally roofed with 'braced beams'. So also (p. 164) the cella of the Parthenon, whose ceiling was perhaps partly suspended from them. How does D. imagine them? Not as trusses. For a century later, as D. himself infers from the specification for Philo's arsenal, 'the trussing of timber was yet unknown'. His glossary defines a 'brace' as a diagonal strut (resembling, one supposes, the brace of an English hammer-beam). Yet how in the Parthenon could such braces have thrust without unsightliness against the walls or colonnades of the cella? It is a pity that, as his bibliography shows, D. overlooked the ingenious conjectures of Jeffery in *Archaeologia* 1928, and even sadder that his chronological framework should allow him no full discussion in one place of Greek roofing in general. He might then have seen some significance in the bronze poppy at the apex of the Philippeum (p. 236) that held all the rafters in position.

Coming to the fifth century, D. attributes the halt in building throughout Attica for some thirty years to observance of the 'Plataean Oath' not to rebuild temples the Persians had destroyed. Then how could Cimon rebuild the Telesterion at Eleusis, as described on p. 195? The early classic temples of Bassae and Olympia were begun at this time, and D. well argues that at the former the cella is much later than the peristyle. So also, one would have thought, at Olympia. D.'s attempt to argue otherwise, to date the chryselephantine statue as close as possible to the building, brings Pheidias there as early as 454 B.C. and involves D. in a conflict, of which he drops no hint, with Philochoros and B. D. Merritt.

The bulk of this chapter is admirable. For all his enthusiasm—and he conveys the inexhaustible interest of these buildings—D. retains his good sense. He praises Greek architecture for virtues it really possessed, so has no time for Goodyear or the Golden Section. Pp. 167-8, explaining Vitruvius' notorious 'scamilli impares' for curving the stylobate as a series of levelling cubes, are especially good and may even be right. On p. 183 D. tacitly abandons his old position, that the Temple of Zeus at Olympia is the latest known example with two parallel inner colonnades, not returned. P. 185, n. 3, shows very well how D. has lived with the fragments of Greek buildings and tried them here and there until they fitted. Nor has he ever seen reason, since his article in *AJA* 1922, to abandon his conclusions, so interesting to architects, on the Greek use of structural iron.

The next chapter, on the fourth century, contains among much else a most interesting critique of the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene, as an example of Greek proportions; and a valiant attempt to restore a frieze to the entablature of the Mausoleum. On the other hand, D. considers less methodically than one might wish the question of sculpture in the normal Ionic pediments of Asia.

The last chapter, on the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman phases, has to round off the book, a feat that Hellenistic art makes next to impossible. One would have liked a clear, consecutive account of the introduction of the large stone arch into building. The market building at Alinda contains interesting examples, and is shown on p. 294. But the source of information is not given here or in the bibliography.

Theatres occupy much space in D., to what effect the reviewer feels incompetent to judge. He can hardly agree, however, with p. 120, that the natural assumption of a sixth-century theatre at Athens near the site of the present building is 'most improbable', however skilfully D. may argue from poor, late authorities for a sixth-century theatre in the agora. D. is somewhat more persuasive when arguing that actors moved on the level of the orchestra at all times before the proscaenium was introduced, c. 200 B.C.

One may criticise some points in D.'s history of the Greek private house. While agreeing that the third-century houses of Priene derive from the megaron-type of the Bronze Age, he nowhere mentions the intermediate megaron of c. 500 B.C. at Larisa, but strangely confines himself to the intrusive *kilani* in that city. Nor is the 'oecus' at Olynthus, despite p. 252,



so obviously 'descended from the old megaron' as are the examples in Asia.

I make no apologies for signposting the book in this detail, for pointing to some of the evidence it uses and of the topics on which it impinges. With an eye to architectural students, D. has refrained from quoting Greek. He seems, in consequence, to have lost that sense of proportion which a fertile mind must always find hard to retain. He obviously knows far more than he says. He has decided to omit some evidence, and has left out the most valuable. The irritated enemies of Classical Archaeology can argue that he is playing the expert, that he takes minute measurements no one can correct, reaches conclusions no sane man can believe and offers no clue to the truth beyond a bibliography of frightening immensity. No one, D. seems to suggest, can escape this labyrinth unless he knows as much as D.: which is impossible. 'Science' will have murdered yet another liberal study.

There is only one way to prevent all this—free and frank discussion, with properly cited evidence, of every important topic as it arises. Ambiguity, dogma, and truncated discussion meet us on too many pages of this book. On p. xvii Hemeroscopion, a mere *πολιχόν* according to Strabo, is called one of the 'more important' Greek settlements. On p. 2 the period 1600–1400 B.C. is called the 'golden age' of the Aegean Civilisation and 1500–1100 B.C. its 'silver age', while on p. 16 D. calls Tiryns our best evidence for 'royal dwellings of the Heroic Age in Aegean Greece'. The Heroic Age is nowhere dated, all the three ages are poetical rather than archaeological (and this in a book of repellently 'scientific' format) and the reader is left with an uncontrollable kaleidoscope. On pp. 16 ff. the word 'Megaron' is used everywhere of Mycenaean houses, though not employed (except in a page-heading) for the earlier 'megara' of Northern Greece. Then, on p. 22, we are told, indeed, that Homer had some memory of the Mycenaean palaces, but nowhere that we get the very word 'megaron' from Homer. From p. 36 one would assume the fugitives from the Peloponnese reached Cyprus about 1100 B.C. But even Gjerstad hardly puts their entry as late as this. P. 39 says the Greeks introduced hollow-casting from Egypt, although the art was invented in Sumer and early hollow-cast Greek griffins are of 'eastern' type (Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, p. 71). Why not quote, on p. 40, Homer's actual words on Athenian Temples? Is Pindar evidence that Corinth invented the pediment (p. 43), or rather that Corinthians built the first rectangular temple with pediments at either end? Neither from pp. 43–4 nor from the glossary would one gather that the terms 'Corinthian' and 'Laconian tiles' have ancient warrant, 'Sicilian tiles' none. P. 59 could with advantage have mentioned the Alpheios breast-plates, although one must commend D. for noticing the first combination in one running design of the lotus and palmette. P. 67 sees little difference between kings in Sparta and tyrants elsewhere; but Sparta *αὐτὸν ἀνδρῶντος ἦν*. Despite p. 123, Ephesus was never at this time leader of the Ionians. According to p. 125, the Persians did not burn down the Samian Heraion, as Pausanias suggests, for the remains show the fire occurred 'considerably before the Persian Wars'. This is to ignore the sack of Samos during the early years of Darius. P. 183, n. 1, asserts that the temple of Nemesis was rededicated to Livia—an act which escaped Pausanias' notice and would hardly have flattered Livia. In his bibliography D. omits Broneer, who published the inscription on which he himself here depends. P. 211 omits the use of the Odeum for the Proagon and suppresses its attribution by Vitruvius to Themistocles. The statement on p. 214 that Olynthus was enlarged apparently after 429 B.C. seems, when compared with Thuc. I.58, to post-date matters by five years. Without consulting Pausanias, the general reader could not see how much of p. 264 is derived from his account of Elis. It would have been as easy, and far clearer, to cite and translate the relevant passage. P. 275, n. 3 is ambiguous. One finds no clue in D. to the difference between an *Ekklesiasterion* and a *Bouleuterion*, mentioned as alternatives on p. 295. The building at Priene was surely the former. The 'physician Oribasius', quoted half-jestingly on p. 330 as an authority for early Hellenistic street-planning, belongs to the reign of Julian the Apostate.

One might perhaps have expected, even in these times, rather clearer illustrations. Fig. 78, for instance, the so-called 'City Plan of Olynthus' shows only half the city, seemingly surrounded by sea. Fig. 89, because of its very small scale, slurs over the difficult interval between the responds and the end columns of the portico in the Thersilion. Compare 'Megalopolis', Fig. 15. Plate XXVIII, alleged on p. 292 to show a Pergamene stoa, shows nothing clearly. Something has gone wrong with the right hand half of Plate XXXIX. To take

at random five consecutive illustrations, figs. 86–90, only fig. 89 has a scale. The elaborate table of dimensions and proportions at the end of the text, however useful for one branch of research, affords no substitute for illustrations to scale.

Unlike Robertson, D. acknowledges no source for most of his plates or line-drawings. Fig. 10 seems a doctored version of *AJA* XXXVII, 277, fig. 6, with two centre columns added. Mylonas and Kourouniotis presumed these columns existed, but found no evidence for them on the site. Nowhere does D. explain. Plate IX, of the shrine in the Cnossian fresco, repeats the version taken by Robertson from the *Cambridge Companion to Classical Studies*, 1916 edition. A new rendering, with a different entablature, has appeared in Evans, *PM* III (1930), pl. XVI: but D. has ignored it.

Of misprints and small slips I have noticed the following (in locating these, I count in each case the lines of actual text only). On p. 25, line 28 read 'west slope' for 'east slope'. On p. 38, line 39, 'triad' seems a misleading word. On p. 49, line 19, for 'Proseca' read 'Proseca'. On p. 61, delete line 4. On p. 113, line 27, delete 'Fig. 44', and in line 28 change 'Fig. 4' to 'Fig. 44'. On p. 115, line 16, for 'Mount Cronus' read 'Hill of Cronus'. In the heading of p. 121, for 'ALACES' read 'PALACES'. On p. 235, line 19, for 'Plate LVII' read 'Plate LVIII'. On p. 299, line 27, for '(phylakes)' read '(phylakes)'.

The glossary is good, though D. might have mentioned the two species of natural acanthus. 'Pseudo-Isodomic' is included and 'Isodomic' omitted. The page-headings in the text are a good idea, though rather spiritlessly carried out. That of p. 293 could surely have mentioned Roman Doric, and that of p. 327 the Roman Triumphal Arch: and can any good result from such a plural as 'odeums' (p. 319)? One could improve the page-headings of all three indices by the insertion at the appropriate places of 'LOCORUM', 'NOMINUM', and 'RERUM'.

HUGH PLOMMER.

**The Attic Grave-Reliefs of the Classical Period.**  
An essay in interpretation. By K. F. JOHANSEN.  
Pp. 183, with 83 text figures. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1951. 28s.

This book—an English translation of an essay published in Danish in 1949—deals with the interpretation of the Attic grave reliefs of the classical period, from the time of the Parthenon to the anti-luxury decree of Demetrios of Phaleron, that is, from c. 440–307 B.C. These reliefs have, as Professor Friis Johansen points out, 'a narrowly limited and homogeneous group of motifs'. Similar, though infinitely varied, compositions occur again and again. They show the dead presumably as they appeared while alive, generally accompanied by relatives, or servants, or both.

Mr. Friis Johansen in his penetrating analysis does not upset this more or less obvious interpretation, which of recent years has again been made certain by the epigram on Ampharete's gravestone: 'Here I hold my daughter's child, the beloved one, which I used to hold on my knees, when, living, we beheld the rays of the sun, and now, dead, I hold the dead child.' But he deepens and enlarges this conception. The departed and the survivors are shown as they were in life, but (1) the union of life and death takes place 'in a common sphere beyond time and place', and (2) 'the deceased is honoured and worshipped by the survivors according to old custom and usage'. In other words there is a religious tenor in the simple scenes, which transports them to a higher sphere, and the common Greek belief that the dead are better and mightier, *βέλτιους καὶ κραττοῦς* (Aristotle), than the living, is implicit.

For this interpretation the author offers convincing evidence. He cites a number of reliefs in which it is difficult to know which figure was meant for the deceased, which for the survivor, both being prominent and the names of both being inscribed evidently at the same time; sometimes both figures are standing, or one is seated while the other stands. Does the standing figure always represent the deceased, or does the seated one? Or did both individuals die at the same time? And if there are more than two people represented and their names were inscribed at the same time, did all die simultaneously? (To the many instances cited by the author I may add a particularly convincing example, namely the group of a father, named Aiolos, a mother, named Leonike, and their three daughters, also inscribed with their names, on a marble lekythos in New York, 49.11.4 (Alexander, *M.M.A. Bulletin*, N.S. IX, 1950–1, p. 57). One of the daughters is clearly the person to whom the monument was erected, while the other figures are shown in various attitudes of mourning. A father and a mother, likewise inscribed Aiolos and Leonike, are represented on a marble lekythos in the Louvre bidding farewell to a Kalliphanes.



Since Aiolos is a rare name except in mythology (cf. Milne in Alexander, *loc. cit.*), it is likely that the Aiolos and Leonike of the Louvre monument are the same persons as those on the New York one. Obviously they could not have died twice.)

Such difficulties are solved by Friis Johansen's interpretation. Moreover, it explains the absence of portrait-like features at a time when one would expect them. The idealised nature of the subject would account for the generalised physiognomies. Furthermore, since the heroising of the dead was an accepted tenet and was unequivocally represented in early Greek reliefs (e.g. in the Laconian 'hero reliefs'), it seems reasonable to suppose that the belief survived, to some extent at least, in the classical age. The scenes on the Attic white lekythoi and on other monuments bear this out. The comparatively few cases that do not fit into the theory—for instance, the women represented in the pangs of childbirth or warriors downing their enemies—may be explained as exceptions, 'deviations without importance for the total understanding of the art'.

Such in brief is Mr. Friis Johansen's argument. It seems a reasonable theory, in line with Greek conceptions; and it helps to explain the outstanding characteristic of Attic classical grave reliefs—their serenity. Since they make us feel transported to a higher sphere, why should this quality not have been implicit in their meaning?

Mr. Friis Johansen besides advancing a persuasive theory, makes many interesting suggestions. I may add a few comments on points on which I do not find myself in complete agreement.

On p. 107 the author doubts that the sphinx had any special connexion with death and the grave. But that the principal function of a sphinx on a tomb was to act as guardian of the dead is suggested by the inscription on a gravestone from Thessaly: 'O sphinx, dog of Hades, whom do you . . . watch over, sitting [on guard over] the dead?' (P. Friedländer, *Epigrammata*, no. 139A).

On pp. 146–7 the theory is evolved that when the carving of grave reliefs was resumed in Attica around 440 B.C., after a cessation of about fifty years, certain non-Attic features 'with no precedents in the earlier Attic stock' (for instance, a pedimental finial) were adopted due to outside influence. Should we not remember, however, that some of the grave reliefs of the first half of the fifth century found outside Attica may very well have been made by Attic sculptors who left Attica after the devastation of the Persian wars to find work elsewhere? That would explain the sudden appearance of these figured gravestones in localities where no such reliefs had previously existed (cf. my *Archaic Attic Gravestones*, 122 f.). Moreover, the pedimental finial is a concomitant of a widened slab and its direct derivation from the palmette finial of the earlier, narrow slab is suggested by the palmette akroteria at the apex and angles of the pediment.

Are the reliefs figs. 70, 72, 73 really sepulchral?

On pp. 121 f. Mr. Friis Johansen does not accept my suggestion (in *Archaic Attic Gravestones*, 90 ff.) that the decree against expensive grave monuments cited by Cicero in *De Legibus*, II, 64 f., might apply not to the time of Cleisthenes as generally supposed, but to the third quarter of the sixth century B.C. when the elaborate sphinx-crowned stele was displaced by the simple slab with a palmette finial. He contends that 'the Attic grave monuments in the last third of the century continue to be very stately and of high artistic quality. . . . Only about 500 can a sudden break in the so far continually flourishing production be established'. He omits to mention, however, an important point in the argument. The decree cited by Cicero did not entail a total stoppage of figured gravestones such as apparently took place in Attica around 500 B.C.; it merely provided 'that no one should build a tomb which required more than three days' work for ten men' (ne quis sepulchrum faceret operosius quam quod decem homines efficerent triduo). This restriction would explain the sudden transition from the sumptuous sphinx-crowned stele to the modest type of the Antiphaneas stele of about 530 B.C. The more elaborate stele of Aristion and Lyseas date from the last decade or so of the sixth century, and by that time the strict observance of the decree might well have fallen into partial disuse (a possibility envisaged by Mr. Friis Johansen himself for the resumption of the output in 440 B.C.).

On p. 41 the gesture of lifting a corner of the cloak with one raised hand which frequently occurs on classical grave reliefs is interpreted as one of unveiling. But this explanation does not apply in many cases, for instance in the relief in the Louvre, no. 3113 (fig. 23), where a daughter holds her cloak while clasping the hand of her mother, or in that of Damastrate (fig. 24), where a maid in the background makes this gesture. Nor would the unveiling in many cases be very effective, for a good chiton or peplos regularly appears beneath the cloak.

Could the gesture be at least sometimes symbolic of sorrow, like that of bringing the hand to the chin (cf. e.g. fig. 75)? That it did not always signify grief is shown by its occurrence on votive reliefs (e.g. Louvre 742, Aphrodite).

P. 155. The case of the seated woman on the stele in New York (fig. 77) is more complicated than the author thinks; for she not only holds up a lekythos, that could well be explained as sepulchral as the author suggests, but on her lap is a (fragmentary) pyxis, which has apparently no sepulchral connexion.

Pp. 41 f. A recent investigation at the Metropolitan Museum has convinced us that the pediment inscribed 'Sostrate, daughter of Thymokles, of the deme of Prasias', did not belong to the relief shown in fig. 22. It does not really fit. When in 1911 the niche was reconstructed to support the pediment and to contain the relief, a piece had to be added to the slab (cf. my *Handbook*, 1930, 257, fig. 180). According to a report current at the time of the discovery, another pediment was found in the neighbourhood of the relief, inscribed 'Malthake, the daughter of Demoteles, Demoteles, the son of Thymokles of the deme of Prasias, Demokrateia, the daughter of Demoteles'. It is possible that this pediment (now unfortunately lost) belonged to the New York relief, in which case the monument was erected to a father and his two daughters. For its dating in the first quarter of the fourth century Mr. Friis Johansen brings out a new argument in the parallelism of the clasped hands of the girl with those of Ktesileos (fig. 21).

Fig. 41b is now superseded by the drawing in *Melanges Picard*, p. 864, fig. I, b, which shows the sphinx crouching instead of seated.

Mr. Friis Johansen's book is a significant contribution to an important subject, and will be read with profit and enjoyment by both scholars and the general public.

GEISELA M. A. RICHTER.

**Das Hellenistische Bildnis.** By ERNST BUSCHOR. Pp. 71, with 62 figures. München: Biederstein Verlag, 1949. DM 12.

The purpose of this slender, well-printed, and admirably illustrated volume is to paint a picture of portraiture in the Greek world (in the widest sense of that term) from Alexander the Great to Augustus. In order to keep the book within reasonable limits, the author confines himself to discussion of the most significant monuments of the period, dispenses with footnotes, bibliography, and elaborate bibliographical references, and provides succinct, but serviceable, indices of individual sculptures, of the portrait-types of famous persons, and of other Hellenistic works of a mythological, 'every-day', or 'ideal' character. The illustrations include reproductions of a number of comparatively unfamiliar monuments; and the citation of the principal publications of all works mentioned, whether illustrated here or not, will prove handy to the specialist and of very considerable value to the student. The least attractive feature of the book is the painfully luxuriant style, with its semi-'mystical' psychological jargon, its long strings of epithets and descriptive phrases, and its exuberant metaphors. Such sentences as 'Zusammen mit den guten Kopien der griechischen Porträts kann er [sc. the Conservatori 'Brutus'] uns vor die Seele führen, dass am Anfang der hellenistischen Entwicklung nicht nur äussere Steigerung und Anspannung der Form steht, sondern ein starkes Teil innerer Erfahrung und Konzentration, schmerzvollen Erlebens und fruchtbarer Begegnung mit dem eigenen Ich' and 'Um das alte Bild wieder aufzunehmen: es kurzt nicht mehr der ziehende Strom um den eingetauchten Stab, ein Strudel kreist um die Klippe'—both on p. 14—must suffice as specimens.

In view of the fragmentary state of our knowledge of Hellenistic art and of the absence of satisfactorily continuous series of securely dated monuments, there is an inevitable element of subjectivism in all attempts to reconstruct the development of portraiture during these three crucial centuries. The present attempt is likely to arouse some disagreement, at least, among specialists, and some attributions of individual works to given epochs will strike the reader as slightly dogmatic and arbitrary. But the story as told here is, in its general effect, plausible and consistent and it offers an important basis, framework, and challenge for further research. The 'pretext', as it were, for the book is the need to settle the questions of the date and milieu of a remarkable, but sadly damaged, male serpentine head in private possession at Munich (Figs. 1 and 2)—questions which have, so far, received very various answers from scholars. In order to discover the right niche for this portrait, the author takes us through the Hellenistic period, quarter-century by quarter-century, and traces the evolution of (exclusively male) iconography in three main categories—the 'Alexander'- and 'ruler'-motif, the motifs of the philosopher, poet, and 'public' man, and the motif of the



private citizen. We pass from the gradual break-away from classical canons in the late-fourth and first half of the third centuries to the early, high, and late 'baroque'—the last phase being equated with 'rococo'—of the second half of the third and second centuries; and thence to the highly varied, essentially experimental and eclectic art of the first century, concluding with the classicism of the ripe-Augustan style. In the last of the fifteen sections into which the text is divided we receive the solution of the initial problem: the Munich head falls into place as the product of an Alexandrian workshop of the second quarter of the first century A.C.

One of the most important lessons which the book drives home is the futility of seeking to erect an artificial barrier between Greek and Roman portraiture in the last century A.C. As B. convincingly demonstrates, it is in the workshops of the far-flung Greek world—in Greece proper, on the Islands, in Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and Magna Graecia—that we can trace the first emergence of all the elements which underlie the characteristically Roman portrait—the trend towards massiveness, stiffness, dryness, angularity and sobriety, greater attention to surface, details, a markedly increasing tendency towards the isolation of the head from the body, as a prelude to the heyday of the portrait-bust, and a notable partiality for the portrayal of old and elderly persons, with striated, creased, and rumpled faces and heads either wholly or largely bald. We can watch works in this new, quasi-veristic style developing in those Greek art-centres alongside of the continued production of works in the older 'baroque' and 'rococo' manners. The former represent a natural and gradual growth, rooted in Hellenistic soil; and we must agree with B. that it is perverse and unreasonable to describe them, when found in the East or in Sicily and southern Italy, as coming from the hands of Roman or Italic artists, or as imported from Rome. First-century Rome was flooded with envoys from all the Greek art-schools; and if the greatest achievements of the ripe-Augustan 'court-style' were produced on Italian soil, the roots of that style also were in the East.

B. does not, indeed, fail to recognise the existence of *Romanitas*, the erection, that is, on a late-Hellenistic foundation of a descriptive, 'chronicling' metropolitian Roman portrait-style, particularly impressive in sepulchral monuments, manifesting itself in 'echt-römische Werke', in which the 'veristic' tendencies, noted above, in Greek workshops were carried uncompromisingly to their logical conclusions. Such works he is doubtless right on attributing partly to the influence of Roman pupils of the Greek masters; and from the strictly Hellenistic point of view they may be suitably described as representing Roman 'Provincialism' (p. 64). But B. almost completely overlooks a vital historical factor, the contribution of the ancestral funerary mask or head, traditional in the ancient aristocratic Roman families, to the sudden flowering of the portrait-bust in early first-century western iconography. B. Schweitzer's *Die Bildniskunst der römischen Republik* (1948) is an essential complement to *Das hellenistische Bildnis*.

J. M. C. TOYNEEE.

**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: France 16: Paris, Musée national Rodin.** By N. PLAOUTINE and J. ROGER. Pp. 62, 40 pl. Paris, Champion, 1945.

(Owing to an oversight this volume and the next were not sent to the reviewer until this year: he is not responsible for the delay.)

Mr. Merlin, in his introduction (and in *Mélanges Felix Grat*, pp. 127-44) draws a picture of the late Nicolas Plautine, that unusual, unforgettable figure of a genuine and devoted scholar. Plautine's text is full, but the detail is never superfluous. There are many good suggestions, and much curious lore on various topics. The photographs are very good. The vases are nearly all well preserved; a few have restorations which it has not been possible to remove. Mr. Merlin describes the haphazard manner in which Rodin, as can easily be understood, formed his collection; and rather understates, perhaps, its value to the student of antiquity. It would be vain, he adds, to expect that these vases will throw light on the art of Rodin, whose eyes can only have rested on them for a moment.

Attic Bf. Pl. 12, 2: Red-Line Painter, on whom see *Raccolta Guglielmi* 1 pp. 36-7. Pl. 12, 4-5: as Amsterdam 1847 (*CV* Scheurleer pl. 6, Pays-Bas pl. 30, 4) and Copenhagen 65 (*CV*, pl. 109, 1). Pl. 12, 6 and 8: by the same, a neck-amphora in Thebes (*BSA* XIV, pl. 13, d). Pl. 12, 7 and 9-10: by the same, Villa Giulia 3551 (*CV*, pl. 48, 5). Pl. 13, 1-2: by the same as the last. Pl. 13, 3: manner of the Haimon Painter. Pl. 13, 4-6: Camel Painter, so called from the skyphos Munich 2008 (A. Morin-Jean, p. 130, fig. 144): compare his skyphos in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg (Poulsen,

*Vases grecs*, figs. 25-6). Pl. 13, 7-8: CHC Group: cf. Bologna 131 (*CV*, pl. 41, 3-4). Pl. 13, 10 and 12: Painter of Würzburg 351 (and 352: Langlotz pl. 104). Pl. 14, 3-6: Plautine quotes other cups by the same artist, the Caylus Painter. Pl. 14, 7-8 and 12: Sandal Painter. Pl. 14, 10 and pl. 16: compare lekythoi in the University of Chicago (*AJA* 1943, 396) and in the Roß collection, Zurich (Bloesch *Antike Kunst in der Schweiz*, pl. 28-9). Pl. 17-8, trifling lekythoi. Group of Athens 581: pl. 17, 1-2 (near the Painter of Athens 581); pl. 17, 3-4 (as Oxford 1940, 74); pl. 17, 5 and 10 (as pl. 17, 1-2); pl. 17, 6; pl. 17, 8; pl. 17, 9; pl. 17, 12. Manner or following of the Haimon Painter: pl. 17, 7; pl. 17, 13; pl. 17, 14; pl. 18, 1; pl. 18, 2; pl. 18, 3 and 5; pl. 18, 4; pl. 18, 8; pl. 18, 9; pl. 18, 10. Pl. 18, 2: Group of the Hoplite leaving home. Pl. 18, 6-7: same hand as pl. 20, 1-2 and 4-5. Pl. 20, 1-2 and 4-5: near the Beldam Painter; this is *Coll. E. G. (eladakis)*, pl. 5, 123.

Attic rf. Pl. 21, 1-2: bad imitation of the Syriskos Painter (*ARV* 199, no. 3). Pl. 21, 3-4: Agrigento Painter. Pl. 22, 4-6: Painter of the Paris Centaureomachy. [Pl. 23, 5-6 is Italiote]. Pl. 24, 1-2: Barclay Painter. Pl. 24, 7-8: Painter of Bologna 417 (*ARV*, 600, no. 71). Pl. 25, below, middle: for '1.2' read '4.1'. Pl. 27, 8: Aischines Painter.

Attic white. Pl. 27, 1: must be much restored. Pl. 27, 2-3: Plautine was reminded of the Sabouroff Painter, and it is in fact by him. Pl. 27, 4-5: Triglyph Painter.

Etruscan rf. Pl. 28-30: an excellent photographic record of one of Plautine's most notable discoveries, the Etruscan cup that copies the reverse of the Attic Oedipus cup in the Vatican: see also *EVP*, pp. 3 and 25-7, and *Festschrift Rumpf*, p. 10 (The Bowdoin cup *JHS* LVII, p. 26, may be Faliscan). Pl. 31, 1-4: this singular vase is called 'Etrusco-Corinthian' on the plate, but in Mr. Roger's text (p. 42, right) is said to be a South Italian imitation of Corinthian. It is not Etruscan, and it imitates not Corinthian, I think, but Attic of the Komast Group or near it; compare the Attic skyphos-fragment *JHS* XLIX, pl. 15, 9.

Italiote rf. [Pl. 34, 1-2 is Attic]. Pl. 34, 3-4: by the Parrish Painter (see *JHS* LXIII, p. 70); another addition to the work of this Campanian artist is the neck-amphora New York 91.1455. [Pl. 39, 2-3 is Campanian rf., of the Owl-Pillar Group, see *JHS* LXIII, pp. 66-9; pl. 39, 4-6 is Attic].

[Hellenistic]. Pl. 40, 3 is fourth century and probably Attic.]

J. D. BEAZLEY.

**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: France 15. Palais des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris (Petit Palais), Collection Dutuit.** By N. PLAOUTINE. Pp. 56, 48 pl. Paris: Champion, 1941.

This volume is of the same quality as that just reviewed. Unfortunately there is much more restoration than there, and it was not possible to clean before photographing. Auguste Dutuit was particularly fond of plastic pieces, but happily did not confine himself to them. Nearly all the vases belonged to him, but a few have been acquired since his death, from funds which he bequeathed together with his collections.

Pl. 3, 2: Group Q, see below on *CV* Naples, pl. 1, 1-2. Pl. 3, 4: near the Blackneck Group: compare the New York amphoriskos *CV* Gallatin, pl. 35, 1. Pl. 7, 2 and 4 and pl. 8, 4-7: near the Painter of the Oxford amphora 1911. 256 (see *CV* Oxford, pp. 98-9). Pl. 10, 5-6: Theseus Painter. Pl. 12, 4-5 and pl. 13: very close to the Shuvalov Painter, but too weak to be from his hand. Pl. 17, 4-8: Peleus Painter (*ARV* 687, no. 15). Pl. 33, 3-4: see Caskey and Beazley II, 58, no. 8. Pl. 33, 5-7: *ARV*, 817, top, no. 3. Pl. 42, 1-2: *EVP*, 118 no. 9 (Clusium). Pl. 42, 3-5: *EVP*, 156, foot, no. 2. Pl. 42, 6-7: *EVP*, 157 no. 3. Pl. 43, 4-6: *EVP*, 118.

J. D. B.

**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Italia XX: Museo Nazionale di Napoli 1.** By A. ADRIANI. Pp. 26, 46 pl. Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1950.

The first Naples fascicle publishes Attic black-figure, and gives most of the panathenaics, amphorae, hydriai, cups, kyathoi, with some odds and ends. The *Raccolta Cumana* for some reason is excluded. The vases are described briefly, with full bibliography and approximate dates. Some of the photographs show details clearly.

Panathenaics. 3415 (III Hg pl. 1, 1 and 3): the pattern on the neck is also modern. Inv. 112848 (III Hg pl. 1, 2 and 4 and pl. 2): Peters, *Studien zu den panathenäischen Preisamphoren*, pl. 7, a with pp. 47-60. Stg. 693 (III Hg pl. 3, 2 and 4 and pl. 4, 3): for 'Aigisthus' read 'Aigisthos'; Peters, *op. cit.*, pl. 9, a, with pp. 80-1.



*Amphorae*. 2734 (pl. 1, 1-2): Group Q, a group of slight amphorae near the Painter of Louvre F6: compare, for example, Munich 1369 (*CV*, pl. 6, 1 and pl. 7, 3). 2523 (pl. 2, 1-2): compare the amphorae Faina 75 and 81 and a third in the Hearst collection (A, chariot wheeling round, with warriors; B, Dionysos on donkey with satyrs). 2725 (pl. 4, 1-2, Group E): pl. 4, 2 is reversed. Inv. 112849 (pl. 5, 3-4): I have no note of this, but so far as can be judged from such reproductions it is not far from the manner of Exekias; foot modern? 2466 (pl. 7, 1-2) seems not far from the Antimenes Painter. 2744 (pl. 10), by the Affector: cf. especially Munich 1442 (FR, pl. 153, 2 and III, 222, fig. 107). Impossible to tell the shape of the foot from the mutilated reproductions: it is as in amphora type A, with base-fillet (the foot of the Munich vase is lost).

*Pelike*. 3358 (pl. 13): the seated figures are male.  
*Neck-amphorae*. 2537 (pl. 41, 2-3): by the Edinburgh Painter (Haspels, *ABL*, 220, no. 74). 3383 (III Hg pl. 4, 4): Group of Vatican G 23; not a panathenaic.

*Cups*. Stg. 172 (pl. 21-2): the first female on B is not Semele but, as the painter tells us, Kallis. Vanderpool published a cup which he saw to be by the same man. 2709 (pl. 23, 1-2 and 4): Herakles on B is not left-handed—the photograph is reversed. 2761 (pl. 23, 3 and 5, and pl. 24): Bloesch places this cup, from the point of view of shape, in his Andokides Group (*FAS*, 13, no. 6); the drawing is in the manner of the Andokides Painter and close to him. 2729 (pl. 27): I have some matter about the subject in the continuation of Caskey's *Vases in Boston* (II, pp. 57 and 84). The cups on pl. 29 (except pl. 29, 1) all belong to the Leafless Group, a very large group of late and poor black-figure cups; Stg. 167 (pl. 29, 5-6 and pl. 33, 6) by the Whitworth Painter, compare the Auckland cup *JHS* LXXI, p. 185 fig. 5; 2510 (pl. 29, 9 and pl. 33, 1) by the Caylus Painter, compare Cambridge 23. 24 (*CV*, pl. 17, 6) or Villa Giulia 1448 (*CV*, pl. 42, 1-2 and 4). 2740 (pl. 31, 2 and 4): compare the cup, of hybrid shape like this, in Manchester (*Manch. Mem.* 87, pl. 2, b), which goes with the Winchester skyphos 36.

*Hydria*. Stg. 12 (pl. 34, 1 and pl. 35, 1 and 3): A.D. Group (Group of the fountain hydria London B329, published in *Antike Denkmäler* II, pl. 19); the details of the Naples vase are seen more clearly in the old photograph Sommer 11038, 2514 (pl. 34, 2 and 4 and pl. 35, 2): on the second inscription, which must be KOPE, retr., see *CV* Oxford, p. 100. There I attributed the vase to the Painter of London B332: I now see that his vases are the later work of the Priam Painter, so called from the Madrid hydria 10920 (*CV*, pl. 8, 2 and pl. 10); the Oxford amphora 212 is also by the Priam Painter. 3378 (pl. 34, 3): by the Edinburgh Painter. Inv. 112847 (pl. 36, 1 and pl. 37, 1): near the Priam Painter. Stg. 30 (pl. 36, 4 and pl. 37, 4) also. 2777 (pl. 38, 3 and pl. 39, 3): manner of the Antimenes Painter: in *JHS* XLVII, p. 90 I did not attribute it to the painter, but said that it recalled him strongly. The subject on the shoulder is evidently Herakles and Kyknos. 2435 (pl. 41, 1 and 4): the shield-device is a cart-body.

*Kyathoi*. The earliest of those in Naples is Stg. 130 (pl. 45, 1-4). Ure saw that it was by the same hand as Vatican 480 and 481 (Albizzati pl. 67); a fourth kyathos by the Painter of Vatican 480, the best of the four, is in Castle Ashby (*BSR* XI, pl. 3, 2). 2465 (pl. 44, 5-8) and Stg. 122 (this is the missing number: pl. 45, 5-8) belong to the Group of Vatican G 57 (see *RG*, pp. 32-3), and Stg. 134 (pl. 43, 1-4) is not far off. With 2465 compare London B463, and Cab. Méd. 356 (*CV*, pl. 73, 4-6); with Stg. 122, Sèvres 2036 (*CV*, pl. 22, 1-3). Stg. 132 (pl. 43, 5-8) and 2461 (pl. 44, 1-4) are by the Caylus Painter, like the kyathos Genoa 1153 (*CV*, pl. 3, 1-3) and others.

The author has not been fully supported by his plate-maker; and this leads on to a general question, which many readers must have asked: why is the level of collotyping in the Italian *Corpus Vasorum* what it is? or to take an example why are the collotypes in the Naples volume (which are not among the poorest) less good than those in the first Munich volume, which is also devoted to Attic black-figure? The answer may be difficult to find, but should not be beyond the range of the National Union of Italian Academies, under whose auspices the Italian *Corpus* is produced. Another general question arises: many of the vases published here are heavily restored; why was no attempt made to clean them before photographing? The answer may well be that owing to other preoccupations expert labour was not available; in that case the proper course was to begin with the unrestored vases, of which there are hundreds or thousands in a great collection like Naples, and leave the tainted till later. The *Corpus Vasorum* is now thirty years old: it is sad that one has to go on repeating the same elementary truths—the vases should be cleaned before

photographing; the photographs should not be deliberately ruined by faking, which includes cutting out the background.

There is another thought, of a mathematical nature, that forces itself upon the reader. This volume publishes 100 vases and costs £3 6s. 6d. How many vases are there in Naples? Heydemann described 4,453 in his catalogue of the year 1872. Many of these are simple objects; but many also are more elaborate than any figured here, and each of these, on the same scale, would require several plates. Heydemann omitted most of the undecorated vases, also those decorated with heads only; and much has been added in the last eighty years. Put the number at 7,000 only. If one volume containing 100 costs £3 6s. 6d., 7,000 will require seventy volumes costing £232 15s. This being so, perhaps one might ask for more vases on a page and less blank space.

J. D. BEAZLEY.

**Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum.** Vol. III. The Lockett Collection. Part V. Lesbos-Cyrenaica: Addenda (Gold and Silver). 16 pll. London: Oxford University Press (for the British Academy), 1949. 50s.

This fifth and final part concludes the illustrated account of the Greek gold and silver coins in a famous collection which also contains a splendid, though unpublished, assemblage of Greek bronze coins. Very soon after this publication appeared the owner, R. Cyril Lockett, died, a severe loss both to his friends and to the science of numismatics, for he was always generous in allowing students and lovers of fine art to examine his collection at leisure. Indeed, his is the greatest and finest private coin-collection in Britain, and it can have but few rivals anywhere.

The plates are exceedingly good and the descriptions helpful and thoroughly practical. Some of the especially rare and interesting pieces and groups are the following: 2803 Ephesus electrum, 2808 Ephesus as a member of the anti-Spartan alliance, 2987 to 3004 a fine Lycian series, and the whole collection of Seleucids, Parthians, Bactrians, Indians, and Ptolemies. Mr. Lockett's continued interest up to the last moment of going to press is shown by the contents of a plate and a half of Addenda, which include a series of Thurian distaters, numerous fine Sicilians, and an Olympian stater with a magnificent eagle's head. The descriptive matter in this, as in the preceding Parts, is the work of the Keeper of Coins and Medals in the British Museum.

CHARLES SELTMAN.

**Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum.** Vol. V. Ashmolean Museum. Evans Collection, Part 1: Italy. 8 pll. London: Oxford University Press (for the British Academy), 1951. 25s.

This latest, very welcome, addition to the ever-growing *Sylloge* of Greek coins is largely due to the enterprise of the late Dr. J. G. Milne, who wrote the text. It consists of the first part of Sir Arthur Evans' collection, the Greek coins of Italy; other parts to follow will cover Evans' Illyrian, Balkan, and Cretan coins. Of the Italian mints, some are represented here more strongly than others. The two best represented are unquestionably Tarentum and Metapontum. Tarentum we should expect in a collection formed by Evans, whose classic work on this mint has stood the test of fifty years. Rarities here include an early coin with female head on the reverse like Vlasto collection 151-2; and a probably unique 'Tarento-Campanian' didrachm inscribed BPET. Metapontum accounts for a good run of silver coins—and it is a mint whose products are second to none for sheer attractiveness—many of these being late-fourth-century pieces from the 'Salonica' hoard. But Metapontum also provides the real high point of the collection, a set of the three exquisite gold coins, also dating from the latter part of the fourth century, and excessively rare; the complete set of three, lacking in most if not all public collections outside Oxford, is in fact only to be found elsewhere in Vol. III of the *Sylloge*, the Lockett collection. As against this there are some gaps—perhaps in fact filled by non-Evans coins? but which, if not, one hopes that the Oxford coin-room may have the good fortune to be able to fill—for instance 'Incusi' of Poseidonia, and gold and silver of the Brettii.

The scope of *Sylloge* does not of course allow for any but the basic information about each coin to be given, and other volumes are not always absolutely consistent on the question of exactly how much to give. Very few essential details escape mention in the present volume, but it would perhaps be possible, as far as space goes, to get in all inscriptions; we are given some exceptional ones, such as Τάπος for Τάπος, but not the various forms of ethnic used at Neapolis, or Leukippos'



name on the Metapontine gold (nor the details of Leukippos' helmet, chariot, or Skylla as the case may be; yet details of similar helmet-adornments are given, e.g. for Velia). There might also be a case for stating in the text where coins share a die in common, though this has not always been done in *Sylloge*, and at the same time, of course, the fact that it is not stated provides a useful criterion of the effectiveness of the plates; some examples from the plates in this vol. are Cumae 8 and 9, Tarentum 77-8, Metapontum 207-9, 216-8, 231-2, Velia 313-4, 321-2. This shows that the plates are effective—perhaps more so than they look at first sight, for many of the coins have a rather wraith-like appearance, which should be avoidable, but which may of course be a fault confined to the particular copy seen by the reviewer. Probably few would advocate direct photography, as opposed to the use of casts, for the latter has proved most useful for numismatic purposes, and is used here, as generally in *Sylloge*; whereas the former has often given bad results in the past, though some recent attempts have shown what can be done by the direct method which always has the advantage of making coins look metallic.

G. K. JENKINS.

**Ainos: its history and coinage 474-341 B.C.** By J. M. F. MAY. Pp. xvi + 288. 10 pl., 4 maps. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1950. 25s.

This is a fine and thoughtful piece of work; few monographs on coins display so much historical consciousness or so ready a mastery of the historical background into which the coins must fit as an essential part of the evidence. That there are limits to the results which such a reconstruction can reach with certainty, is due in the present case solely to the limitations imposed by the material itself. The author has not been well-served in his illustrations, however, which are rather woolly, falling well below the best modern standards that such fine coins, and such a fine book, clearly deserve; the rest is all of the O.U.P.'s best production, but if they are also responsible for the plates they should look at, and ponder, say, the plates of Rizzo's *Monete greche della Sicilia antiqua* published in Rome, 1946.

M.'s reconstruction of the actual sequence of the coins, by their die-linkages and all other available criteria, is done with scrupulous accuracy, and so far as the present reviewer can discover, it would be virtually impossible to make any alterations; unless perhaps the tetradrachms with the 'double-axe' symbol may not quite certainly go with the smaller coins of M.'s group XXI, on account of the difference of style, but see M. p. 107. What is more difficult is to get fixed chronological points; beyond the criteria of style, there is no help to be got, for instance, from hoards or other finds. There is the Athenian currency decree, which clearly stops the first period of coinage at Ainos in c. 449; but there is no such decisive datum for the later coinages, which M. ranges between c. 435 and 405, and 405-357. It is not impossible that some of these later issues might admit of a shift of a few years one way or the other. There is also the problem of how long any one particular issue lasted. No doubt in order to make allowance for the possible discovery of fresh varieties, M. is careful to allow 'breathing space' in his scheme of issues, so that a single issue is sometimes allotted to one year, sometimes to two or even more; and although there is no necessary presumption that a Greek mint coined an annual issue, it is legitimate to wonder whether the spaces may not be rather too great.

Nevertheless, M. is able to make very reasonable suggestions as to how and when the coins fit in. Noteworthy is his treatment of the fact that an unexpected resumption of coinage occurs c. 435 (M.'s dating), at a time when the tribute was remitted, and he uses this to support Gomme's theory of an Athenian garrison holding Ainos against the Odrysians, the sudden large coinage being to pay this garrison (but was it large enough to pay mercenaries as well?). Other issues, it is suggested, may well have been coined as contributions to the Athenian war chest extorted by Theramenes and Thrasyboulos in 408, and Timotheos in 373. For the most part, however, M. interprets the coinage, together with the comparatively high assessment in the Tribute Lists, in terms of Ainos' prosperity, derived from the trade between the Aegean and Thrace, for which Ainos would be a natural entrepôt. Ainos' adoption of the Chian standard after 405 was probably 'a matter of commercial expediency and is proof that her overseas trade was directed to wards the coasts of Ionia and Rhodes than to the Hellenistic region or laterally along the Thracian sea-board' (p. 175). The revived minting of tetradrachms in the later fifth century is accordingly connected with easier trade conditions in the hinterland consequent upon the breakup of the unified Odrysian realm; but can we be sure that Odrysian disruption led to better, and not to worse,

conditions, and might not the revived coinage at Ainos alternatively reflect some modification of Athenian currency policy? (cf. *Hesperia* Suppl. VIII, 338).

Some small points. P. 103; it is difficult to see why the style of obverse A. 65 'foreshadows' that of the peculiar A. 73. Then, the 'Summaries of issues' which head each section are very useful, and accurate; but it would have been convenient to include in them the symbols distinguishing the issues; or alternatively to have the nos. of groups on the plates, as a guide. Also, it would have been nice to have the small coins on the same plate as the corresponding large ones, so as to be able to look at each whole issue together and avoid page-turning. Ideally, enlargements of details, such as the symbols, many of them interesting in themselves, would be a desideratum, also an enlargement of the small gold coin (which has confused previous discussions of this coinage, and is here tentatively, but surely quite rightly, removed from the fifth or fourth centuries and given a Ptolemaic date).

M. is certainly to be congratulated on making this distinguished contribution to knowledge of the northern Aegean, one fully worthy to stand beside the American *Olynthus* IX and his own *Damastion*.

G. K. JENKINS.

**Guides to the Danish National Museum: Department of Oriental and Classical Antiquities. Egypt, Western Asia, Greece and Rome.** Pp. 108, 32 pl. Copenhagen: Danish National Museum, 1950. Price not given.

Guide books to Museum collections, to be good and useful should serve several purposes: first and no doubt foremost, they should assist the visitor in viewing the collections; second, they should provide a 'souvenir programme' which the visitor may take away with him to remind him of what he has seen and learnt in the Museum; third, they should indicate briefly and clearly the scope and value of the collections to those not fortunate enough to be able to visit them themselves. The really good guide-book will, of course, serve all these purposes at once and that is what this present one clearly does. Its admirable plan and lucid and simple explanation of the situation of the exhibits leave no doubt that with its aid the visitor can readily thread his way through the Museum, and its brief but helpful historical introductions to the various civilisations covered by the collections will ensure that even the uninformed visitor has the basic facts before him on which to found an adequate appreciation of the cultural background of the various exhibits. The illustrations, beautifully clear, provide the necessary visual aid to memory that will enable the book to serve as a 'souvenir programme'. And, finally, the detailed description of the main exhibits, concise and summary though it is, will provide anyone who has not been fortunate enough to see the Museum itself with a clear picture of the riches in store for him when his fortune changes and a visit to Copenhagen becomes possible.

The collections contain something from all regions covered by the sub-title. Naturally some are fuller than others. Egypt is well represented in two rooms, with some good sculpture and reliefs and many smaller antiquities of all periods. Western Asia, apart from one site, Hama (Hamath) on the Orontes, excavated by a Danish expedition in 1931-8 under Dr. Ingholt, the collections from which fill two rooms and cover all periods from the neolithic to Islamic times, is less well represented: but there are good selections from Mesopotamia, Persia, and Cyprus, and smaller groups from Palestine, Carthage, and Asia Minor.

The fullest collections are, however, those from Classical Greece and from Italy (pre-Roman and Roman). These, spread over six rooms, clearly contain a most representative series of vases, bronzes, and other small antiquities, but are less rich in sculpture (though the two heads from a Parthenon metope must not be forgotten). Much thought has obviously been given to amassing a fine collection of vases, the lists of which occupy many pages of the text, and great care has also been taken to see that pre-Roman Italy is well represented by tomb-groups and individual pieces illustrating the main phases of Bronze and Iron Age culture in the peninsula. The Roman objects, too, are varied and important, including, amongst other sculptures, two fine portrait heads in marble of princes of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

The book is admirably printed and a pleasure to read and to handle. The English text leaves little to be desired and the anonymous author (or translator?) deserves the fullest congratulations on its style and lucidity. A few obvious misprints can be readily corrected in the next edition (which is bound to be needed shortly), and it would hardly be fair to criticise an English publication produced in Denmark for its use of the



plural 'dices' (p. 69) when so many Englishmen in their homeland—who ought to know better—now regularly speak of 'a dice' in the singular!

D. B. HARDEN.

**Fouilles de Saint-Blaise (Bouches-du-Rhône), Gallia III.** Supplement. By HENRI ROLLAND. Pp. 290 (including 56 pp. of illustrations) + 2 folding plans. Paris: Centre nationale de la recherche scientifique, 1951.

This book is a publication of the results of excavations between 1935 and the beginning of war at Saint-Blaise, an important site on an eminence surrounded by lakes and near the mouth of the Rhône. Since 1946 further excavations have been conducted inside the site, but the earlier investigations, to which the author here limits his attention, were concentrated on clearing the rampart and immediately adjacent areas.

The history of the site falls into three major periods, to each of which a chapter is dedicated. The first covers the time before the building of the rampart, the second, which is more or less continuous with the first, lasted until the Roman conquest, while the third followed after a desertion of four or more centuries and involved the re-occupation and re-fortification of the site in the last days of the Roman Empire in the west and the barbarian invasions. This last phase, during which the name Ugium was attached to the site, lies outside the normal scope of this *Journal* and will not be discussed here, although it occupies over fifty pages of Professor Rolland's text and is of considerable interest and importance.

The three main chapters are preceded by one dealing with generalities and miscellaneous topics, and followed by brief Conclusions, by the photographic illustrations (unfortunately printed on the same paper as the rest of the book), by a brief bibliography, an index and table of contents.

In the preliminary chapter, the site is placed on the map in relation to other well-known features of the landscape of Provence. Its name in the Greek period is plausibly suggested to have been Mastramelle, a name known from lexicographers, late authors (including Avienus), and Pliny.

The section on the earliest habitation of the area (pp. 34-40) has little connexion with the main theme of the book. The Ligurians and Celtoligurians of the Greek literary sources appear to be little known archaeologically in the area which concerns us. At Saint-Blaise a series of stela (pp. 41-6) found scattered or embedded in the Greek rampart, whatever their original function and significance, evidently have something to do with the native population. There was apparently also local pottery extending further back in time than the earliest Greek material, cf. Layer B of the section on p. 55 ('terre avec tessons indigènes') and Layer L on p. 56 ('cendres et tessons indigènes'), also the deep sounding near the chapel of Saint-Blaise mentioned on p. 37. None of this is illustrated or fully described, although such possibilities or correlation with datable Greek pottery are surely of some importance for the prehistorian.

Already we come to the most serious general criticism of this book, namely its tantalising vagueness and lack of precision even in places where such could easily have been avoided. For instance, was this sondage on p. 37 that from which came the fragmentary protocorinthian skyphos 'trouvé, en profondeur, dans un sondage sous l'une des chapelles du moyen âge' (p. 63), Fig. 96? Was it perchance the 'vase importé au VI<sup>e</sup> ou V<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère' of p. 37? Apart from this fragment and a crumb of a vase in the Wild Goat style possibly of late seventh century found near one of the curtain walls (which?), all the early Greek pottery came from the cinder-heap or the 'house'. But here also the situation is not entirely clear.

A good impression of the remains of Tower II can be formed from the plan and elevations on p. 110, and Figs. 142-3, but the precise relationship between wall and cinder-heap does not appear from Fig. 87 in which deep shadow hides the crucial part. How much one would give for a good measured drawing of an actual section through rampart and cinders instead of the diagrammatic sections of pp. 55-6.

For an understanding of the cinders, the hearth-stone (?) shown in this same diagram and mentioned on p. 54, is evidently important also, but there is no illustration and no means of deciding whether it was an altar or hearth or neither, whether or not it was the cause of the accumulation that overlies it.

The account of the primitive structure near the cinder-heap, and the point at which the rampart ceases to be preserved, is more satisfactory, although insufficient remains for one to be sure of its original character. Is this primitive method of constructing walls really more familiar in Greece than in the barbarian west? (p. 58). Also obscure is the relation

of this structure to the cinder-heap with part of whose history it is coeval. The building was made probably in the sixth or fifth centuries, to judge from the fact that its foundations cut into a layer with Asia Minor grey ware and Etruscan bucchero (p. 59) while the layer sealing the ruins contained pottery 'à beau vernis noir (attique)', naturally unillustrated (p. 56).

The fragments of the crater (Fig. 97 and p. 62) with wild goats seem to be those found in the filling of this house (p. 58), although we are never told so and might have concluded otherwise from p. 62. Its date we are told cannot be later than the beginning of the sixth century (p. 58), but rather it could not be earlier. It belongs to a late phase of the style.

The earliest Greek things so far reported from the site are the remains of a bird-bowl (Fig. 90) and of a rosette-bowl (Fig. 91), both from the cinder-heap, the former from layer D (p. 65: why not say so already on p. 60 where is the main discussion of the piece?). The date offered is considerably too early; these bowls belong to the last third or so of the seventh century. The distribution also is wider than here implied. Nearer than Gela are several from central Italy: Cervetri, Tomba Regolini-Galassi; Populonia, Tomba dei Flabelli di Bronzo; Vetulonia, *CVA Firenze I*, Pl. Italia 373.

Apart from these two vases, everything from this deposit (at least what is illustrated) is of the sixth century or later. The cup fragments with polychrome bands, however, mentioned on p. 63 but not illustrated, might from the description be seventh century. The fragments of cups shown on p. 223 all belong to typical East Greek cups, mostly of the full sixth century. The reason for the dogmatism on p. 63, n. 3, is not clear. Eastern Greek vases with linear decoration, and grey wares, are now familiar from many sites in southern France and Spain; less widely diffused in France is Etruscan bucchero of a similar date. These fabrics occur elsewhere on the site as well as in the mound (p. 65). Unillustrated are a fragment of Italo-Corinthian and an Attic little-master cup (both p. 71).

There is, then, considerable evidence from the sixth and fifth centuries and two or three pieces of the late seventh, but one cannot say yet whether Greeks were actually living at Saint-Blaise in the sixth century or whether these Greek things belonged to natives; nor whether they came to Saint-Blaise through Marseilles. Only two or three pieces stand much chance of being earlier than the foundation of that city.

The erection of a strong and carefully planned rampart, which initiates the next phase, however, implies the presence of a considerable and well-organised settlement of Hellenes or Mixohellenes, as well as a Greek expert on fortification. The wall was built some time in the fourth century; the curtain wall P (p. 112, fig. 38) was built into a layer containing fourth-century Greek pottery (but cf. p. 129), and the external ramifications of the wall N (p. 109, fig. 36) were overlain by debris with 'campanienne et tesson attique à figure rouge' (p. 109). Again the relevant pottery is not illustrated nor even described in detail.

The description of the rampart itself is on the whole detailed and clear, the photographs numerous; the discussion of the date and origin of the structure is interesting, and the suggestion that the engineer was Sicilian worth careful consideration.

The site was apparently taken by siege and the wall razed by an army that is only likely from its equipment to have been Roman. Prof. Rolland thinks that of Caesar in 49 B.C. Thereafter the site was abandoned for several centuries.

Remains contemporary with the rampart are sparingly published. There was little red-figure (what there was is thought by the author to be Italiote, p. 138), but apparently much black glaze, mostly probably Italiote also, and the usual local coarse wares, amphorae and the like, as well as some Iberian pottery. Objects other than pottery are of little interest.

This is a site of prime importance. It has already yielded much and it promises to throw a flood of light on the character and organisation of Hellenised Provence, perhaps also on the earliest Greek settlement. Prof. Rolland is to be thanked for this publication, and wished every success in his further explorations. We shall look for a later report that records all that is found with as much precision as possible; this is no site to exploit in a manner that risks the loss of any scrap of evidence, and all should eventually be made available to students.

W. L. BROWN.

**Medieval and Modern Greek Poetry: an Anthology.**

By C. A. TRYPANIS. Pp. lxiii + 285. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951. 21s.

This is a collection of poems picked out by the author as all of some value; as the best, or as much of the best as his space allows him, from the long period covered by 'Medieval



and Modern'. The limits are from the time of Constantine the Great, which he very well takes as 'the beginning of a new era in the life of the Greek people', right down to the present day: the product of an actively intelligent people over rather more than 1,600 years. The book too begins with a sixty-three-page closely and carefully written introduction on the development of Greek poetry over this long period, and the collection of pieces which follows is therefore not only an anthology, a gathering of the best, but a series of pieces to illustrate each stage of this long literary tradition. This historical aim makes it incumbent to include a fair proportion of poems from periods not to most readers of very much interest, and correspondingly to be more sparing that might be wished of more beautiful work: here I am thinking especially of the Greek folk-songs and popular poetry. It is true that much of this poetry is written in very marked dialect, and this the author tells us has made him reject what he very justly calls some of the most beautiful things in Greek. But could not Professor Trypanis's conscience have allowed him to smooth out some of these little linguistic difficulties? Everyone would have gladly accepted any such acknowledged normalisations.

Working under these conditions Professor Trypanis has produced an excellent and very interesting book. Of the duller periods he has, though I speak without very much knowledge, selected the best. Here I am thinking particularly of his treatment of the dull and voluminous yet in his day, 1714-89, much admired poet Caesarios Dapontes. Of his 'many thousands of bad verses' he has chosen what my own reading has forced me to believe his only good passage: a really charming account of his life as a monk on Athos in which he has allowed a pleasant natural simplicity to guide his too facile pen. It is certain that our author's selections from the Cretan poets of the Venetian period, from Erophile and from Erotocritos are admirably made, and yet, unless from a strictly historical point of view, there is too much of them; too much, that is to say, when restrictions of space have been so severe. Here I am particularly thinking of the author's difficulties when he deals with folk poetry. Here we have nothing but the best, and all anthologies must be praised or blamed for inclusions, and as little as possible said about what is not there. Here, too, comes the claim of history, and with it the necessity for at least some kleptic poetry; here again the pieces are well chosen. Yet from the poetical point of view I could have dispensed with the Kolokotronis poem or perhaps the warlike heroine Despo, and for one or the other have substituted one of the heroic ballads of Crete: yet perhaps here the dialect would stand in the way. Nor is it easy for a non-Greek to be very sure in these matters.

Much of the religious poetry at the beginning of the book will be a surprise to many readers; we are given the Christmas hymn of Romanos and the Easter Canon of Cosmas of Maiouma, both of them wonders of stately impressiveness, and with them the hymn on Mary Magdalen by the nun Cassia of the ninth century. This strikes a note of personal emotion more common in the west than in the east. And there are other fine things: a big piece of the Akathistos hymn to the Virgin with its prelude: *τῇ ὑπερσώχῃ στρατηγῇ*.

Of the selections from contemporary poets neither space nor my own reading permit me to say much. Of the eight poems taken from Cavafi all show him at his best; and yet I wish space had been found for the poem called by Professor Mavrogordato *The Church*: it would have been a fine comment on the hymns of Romanos and the other religious poets.

But to complain of the absence of anything is quite out of place; room was limited, and Professor Trypanis's selections are so good that the reader may feel as assured of his taste as he will be of his learning. This delightful book ends with a few notes and a vocabulary; it is a pity that neither of them could have been longer.

R. M. DAWKINS.

**Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio.** By ED. GY. MORAVCSIK, with English translation by R. J. H. JENKINS. Pp. 347. Budapest: Egyetemi Görög Filológiai, 1949. Intézet.

A new edition of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De Administrando Imperio* has been long overdue. The older editions by Anselm Bauduri (1711), reprinted in the Venetian collection of the Byzantine Historians and in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, and the Bonn edition of Immanuel Bekker (1840) are both out of date, and in the Budé Series the *De Administrando* has not yet appeared.

The book starts with a General Introduction written by Professor R. J. H. Jenkins, which treats of the life of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and the nature of his work. A Critical

Introduction follows by Gy. Moravcsik, in which the manuscript tradition of the *De Administrando* is clearly presented and the older editions of this work examined. All our extant manuscripts (M. V. F. M. Me. Ba. Be) go back to the Codex Parisinus Gr. 2009 (P) written between A.D. 1059 and 1081, therefore roughly a century later than the original (c. A.D. 952). Then the text and translation follow. The edition is naturally based on P, but where that manuscript makes no sense, or appears not to correspond to the original text of Constantine's work, the conjectures of the transcripts and editions and those of modern researchers have been taken into account. The text has been most conscientiously prepared and is reliable and sound, no small achievement considering the fluid character of the Greek of this work, which has incorporated extracts from various sources of which the language is not uniform.

The apparatus criticus is elaborate and includes references to sources and parallel passages. But it also often gives readings of transcripts which are of no value for the reconstruction of the text. These, which are nearly always inferior conjectures, are given together with, and at the same level as, the readings of P, and therefore are apt to be misleading. At the same time the statement of all orthographical errors—even of the most unimportant nature (e.g. 45, 129 *ὁρεῖται* Be: *ὁρεῖται* P *ὁρεῖται* Me Ba; or 53, 473 *ἐκπληροῦν* Vedd. *ἐκπληρῶν* P etc.)—and of all the conjectures of modern scholars irrespective of their value (see p. 40), as well as the occasional discussion of textual problems (e.g. 16, 8), tends to make the apparatus cumbersome. One would rather have seen such material as is not useful for the reconstruction of the text included in an appendix.

Both the editor and the translator have made a number of interesting emendations, many of which have been introduced into the text (e.g. 29, 50 where *τὰς κἀστράς* of P (*τὰ κἀστρά* F) is emended into *τὰς Δασύστρας* by Moravcsik; or 29, 264 where Jenkins emends *πεπληγμένον* into *πεπληγμένον*). But certain cruxes are still to be found, some of which can perhaps be removed, as e.g. if we write *ἀπορύβους* in 53, 101 instead of *† ἀπορύβους*.

The English translation by Professor R. J. H. Jenkins is excellent; the sense is always clearly and accurately brought out, and hardly any slips are noticeable (such as e.g. p. 55 cattle for *ἄλογα* instead of horses; or p. 281 where *οὐχ ὑπνοῦσιν* *ὅσοι αὐτὴν πίνω* is translated 'did not suspect that she was drinking water' (out of the purple goblet), while it is 'wine mixed with water', as the text tells us in the line before *παρήγγαλεν αὐτῇ ἐν αὐτῷ αὐτὴν κερῶν σὺν ὕδατι*. The ancient sense of *κερῶν*, to mix wine with water, is here preserved and not that of the modern *κερῶν*, to serve, no easy thing when dealing with such a difficult and complex text.

An Index of Proper Names follows and a Glossary, both of which are comprehensive and useful. The ensuing Grammatical Notes (pp. 333-6) on the other hand are brief and less useful, as they are not grouped together according to the sources of Porphyrogenitus. The book ends with an Index of Sources and Parallel Passages.

The second volume, which is hoped will follow soon, is to be a commentary, and will indeed be most welcome to all scholars of South-eastern European history and Byzantine literature.

C. A. TRYPANIS.

**A Grammar of Modern Greek on a Phonetic Basis.** By J. T. PRING. Pp. 127. London: University of London Press, 1950. 10s. 6d.

In his Introduction the author defines his object as follows: 'to present the essentials of accent and syntax in a practical form suitable for the beginner who wishes to acquire rapidly a simple, educated style of conversational Greek'. There can be no doubt that Mr. Pring's little book achieves this purpose. It is clear also that he is successful in his further declared aim of representing only current demotic forms and style of speaking—in a sense perhaps too successful; it would probably be hard to find an educated Athenian whose own speech was so consistently demotic.

A feature of the book is the use made of substitution tables, which appear at the end of each of the first four Chapters in Part II (Grammar). The advantages of working with substitution tables are being increasingly realised by language teachers and students alike. The linguistic material appears in highly concentrated form, enabling the eye to take in at a glance the relevant grammatical and syntactical features of the numerous sentence patterns that are shown; and the sentences themselves provide abundant material for the fluency and articulation exercises that have to be worked at orally before the linguistic matter contained in them comes to be unconsciously assimilated.



As might be expected in view of the fact that the author is himself a phonetician, considerable space is devoted to a description of pronunciation (Part I, which deals with pronunciation, runs to twenty-two pages—more than one-sixth of the book).

The phonetic symbols used throughout the book are those of the International Phonetic Association. It is not made clear that the manner of using them departs at several points from the principles of 'broad' or 'phonemic' transcription, as when  $\chi$  is represented by  $x$  or  $\zeta$ ,  $\kappa$  by  $k$  or  $c$  ( $kj$ ),  $\gamma$  by  $y$  or  $j$ , etc. There is always something to be said in favour of 'narrowing' the phonetic transcription of a language for the benefit of the foreign learner. But any narrowing always carries with it the corresponding disadvantage of obscuring the structure of the sound system as felt by the native speaker of the language concerned; phonetic distinctions that require a narrowed transcription for their representation are hardly ever felt to be linguistically valid by the ordinary native user of a language. For this reason some writers have found it advisable to use two (at least) parallel transcriptions—a broad notation for demonstrating basic sound-structure and a notation with appropriate degrees of narrowing for calling attention to specific phonetic phenomena as required. I would agree with the author that such a procedure would have been unsuitable for his particular purpose, but I should have liked to see a statement to the effect that the transcription he uses here for Greek is a narrow one, with examples showing how and where. To withhold this information from the language learner is to deny to him a valuable means of appreciating the native speaker's intuitive attitude to the sounds of his own language. And this is important because if the learner is to handle the foreign language with anything approaching naturalness or mastery, it is essential that he should come to adopt an attitude to the sounds and prosodies (no less than to the grammar, syntax, and other features) of the language, closely akin to the native attitude.

A feature of Greek pronunciation that I feel Mr. Pring has not sufficiently brought out is the tendency—one might call it a rule—for a nasal to be articulated homorganically with the following sound. Admittedly he gives on p. 23 (under the heading Assimilation) examples of  $n$  being replaced by  $m$  before  $p$ , etc., and by  $\eta$  before  $k$ , etc. But the phonetic feature thus referred to extends further than this: before a palatal (itself due to a following front vowel) a nasal is palatalised. I can find no mention of this, and the notation  $a'na\eta\eta\eta$  for  $\alpha\nu\eta\eta\eta$  does not of itself make the point clear. Moreover, before a fricative, a nasal is homorganic not only as to place of articulation but also in the fact that the mouth closure is incomplete (like the following fricative). This is likewise nowhere mentioned, and the examples at the top of p. 13, under the heading Nasalisation, are misleading. These purport to show alternative pronunciations where a group of vowel + nasal + fricative may be reduced to nasalised vowel + fricative. But the written nasal ( $n$  or  $\eta$ ) represents in any case a sound having incomplete oral closure—even  $n$  before  $f$  is realised as  $\eta$  (better than  $m$ ) (I use the symbols 'narrowly' to make the point clear)—so the physiological difference between the two pronunciations shown for each word is much smaller than the transcriptions would suggest. Now Mr. Pring's notation is indeed 'narrow' at this point, yet it is not sufficiently narrow of itself to demonstrate the phonetic facts of the case. It would look rather clumsy if one tried to do so—e.g.  $\alpha\nu\eta\eta\eta$  would appear as  $\alpha\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ ,  $\delta\alpha\eta\eta\eta$  as  $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\eta$ , etc.). But the sounder alternative—a description of the actual movements—has not been attempted.

Considerations of space have doubtless been responsible for the frequent omission of the meanings of words chosen as examples (for some reason they are included on pp. 12 and 13 but only exceptionally elsewhere); one must express regret at this, since the book does not even contain a vocabulary to which one might refer.

I was surprised to note that the author introduces the term 'diphthong', and proceeds to use it not in the proper technical sense of a vowel glide performed in a single syllable, but loosely for any two vowels in juxtaposition. Would it not have been simpler for the learner, as well as more in accordance with Greek phonology, to state that there are no diphthongs in Modern Greek, and that any two vowel sounds occurring in juxtaposition (which happens quite frequently) belong to separate syllables? It is easy to criticise the writer of a concise and practical handbook on the score of occasional over-simplification, but the point just referred to is one of the few instances I have found of what one might call unnecessary complication.

Armed with Mr. Pring's book, and with the forthcoming Linguaphone Course on gramophone records to provide the

spoken word, the student will in future be well equipped to set about learning Modern Greek.

P. MACCARTHY.

#### The Year's Work in Classical Studies 1945-1947.

ED. M. PLATNAUER. Pp. xv + 102. Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith, 1950. 10s.

Except that it has no index, this latest and last number of *The Year's Work* is similar in plan to its predecessor, reviewed in *JHS* LXX, 78. The chapters on Latin Literature, Greek History, Roman History, Ancient Philosophy, and Religion are from the same pens as in the previous number; there remain chapters on Greek Literature, by L. J. D. Richardson, and on Papyri, by C. H. Roberts. Richardson gives an admirable full (and clearly subdivided) survey, including sections entitled 'Contacts and Influences', 'Language', and 'Nautical'; indeed at times one feels that his desire for completeness carries him beyond the admittedly ill-defined frontiers between him and his historical and philosophical colleagues. Occasional individual points call for comment; for instance Norwood's master-key to Pindar is 'symbolism' rather than 'a new foreshortened treatment of myth' (p. 5). Roberts's chapter on Papyri is especially welcome as no survey of Papyri has appeared in *The Year's Work* for twelve years, though P. Maas considered recent literary discoveries in his chapter on Greek Literature in the 1939-45 number. There are occasional misprints, but none likely to escape instant emendation by the reader.

Scholars will naturally be sorry to say farewell to a periodical of thirty-four years' standing; but they will derive consolation from the fact that its place has already been more than adequately filled.

D. MERVYN JONES.

#### The Phoenix. The Journal of the Classical Association of Canada. Vol. 3. Pp. 118. Toronto: University Press, 1949. \$2.

*The Phoenix* is playing a noteworthy part in the fostering of interest in Classical studies and the dissemination of understanding. The common characteristic of its articles, which range widely over the Classical field, is that they combine scholarship with readability. A reviewer writing in this journal should single out for mention H. T. Wade-Gery on 'Hesiod', W. P. Wallace on 'The Public Seal of Athens', A. S. Nease on 'Garrisons in the Athenian Empire', and W. M. Huggill on 'Olympics Old and New'. Book reviews are few in number, but the selection is well made, and the review themselves are most informative and helpful. Everyone interested in Classical studies will wish continued success to the *Journal of the Classical Association of Canada*.

R. D. WILLIAMS.

#### Homer: The Iliad. Translated by E. V. Rieu. Pp. 469. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1950. 2s. 6d.

Dr. Rieu's *Iliad* comes very near to repeating the great success of his *Odyssey*. The 'rapidity' on which Matthew Arnold laid stress as an essential in a translation of Homer is here in full measure, as it was in Dr. Rieu's *Odyssey*. Homer's 'plainness and directness of style' is reproduced, though often rather more colloquially than one would ideally wish; his 'plainness and directness of ideas' is not blurred by the translator's interposition of himself between the reader and the original (a frequent failing in verse translations). The fourth of Arnold's requirements, 'nobleness', is somewhat sacrificed to the other three. The sheer poetry of Homer and the magnificent music of his hexameters often seem far away as we are taken rapidly on through the story. Here at all events the translation of Lang, Leaf, and Myers is nearer to Homer. But from a translation one can never have everything; and it is a great thing that we should be given a version in a new style that brings out features of the original which had not previously been available to the Greekless. Dr. Rieu has presented the banquet of Homer to a wide public, and set before them many if not all of the dishes.

R. D. WILLIAMS.

#### Πλάτων και Ἀθήναι. By K. I. BOURBERES. Pp. 237. Athens, 1950.

This treatise continues the author's considerable series of works dealing with Plato's connexions with history. An introductory chapter distinguishes between historic and idealistic elements in his references to Athens. There follow



forty-seven extracts (of varying length) given in the original and with useful apparatus, and a commentary on their subject-matter. Several long citations appear from the *Menexenus* (assumed to be genuine), and also shorter passages from a number of the admittedly spurious works. The motive for including these seems to vary. Thus (*e.g.*) *Minos* 320e ff. is grouped with *Laes* 706 a-c and *Phaedo* 58 a-b by virtue of references to Minos. Others are quoted to show the lasting influence of Plato's own opinions or statements. *Hipparchus* 228b-229d is examined in a long note, and is found, by reason of its misstatements, to justify the condemnation of the dialogue as spurious. The exegesis varies in fullness and importance; some of the notes on the *Menexenus* passages (in particular) are of considerable value. An appendix gives a number of further references in the dialogues to Athenian institutions and customs.

D. TARRANT.

**Le problème des Argonautes. Recherches sur les aspects religieux de la légende.** By R. ROUX. Pp. 419. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1949. 750 fr.

To the prosaic mind of a mythologist or folk-lorist, the Argonautic legend is in form a saga, possibly going back to some prehistoric exploit the details of which we shall never know, but heavily overlaid, first with folk-tales (Wicked Stepmother, Ogre's Daughter, and others) and provided with the usual hero of such stories, who is assisted at every turn by supernatural beings whose favour he has won and by companions whose highly specialised gifts he uses on occasion; while further accretions are due to genealogical vanity (to have an Argonautic ancestor was almost more respectable than to have one who fought at Troy), expanding geographical knowledge, and the desire to connect with supposedly known history a number of rites and customs of the Mediterranean world and also various places having a real or alleged association with the shadowy Minyai. Roux, however, aims at higher things. To him, the story embodies more or less accurate traditions of the glorious days when the Aegean region was divided between two great powers, Orchomenos to the north and Crete to the south (p. 194). In those times, young men of chiefly or royal stock were subjected to an elaborate initiation, involving not only religious rites but also venturesome exploits by sea and land, in companies under chosen leaders and provided with skilled advisers. The influence of Dumézil is everywhere apparent in this phantasmagoria, but the pupil leaves the master far behind in his explorations of the unknown. All manner of authors are put under contribution; Apollonios of Rhodes and his scholiast naturally and quite legitimately take a leading place, but scraps of Justin, Hyginus, Nonnos, the 'Orphic' *Argonautica* and other late writers are eagerly snatched without any consideration of their likely sources or the part played by their own or their authorities' imagination, while such things as the aetiologies of Athenian customs in Plutarch's *Life of Theseus* are taken at their face value. Of *märchen* Roux seems never to have heard. Examples of extraordinary exegesis of the texts may be found by the curious in every part of the book; it would be waste of space to give even a selected list of them.

H. J. ROSE.

**Labyrinth-Studien (Albae Vigiliae, X).** By K. KERÉNYI. Pp. 72, 30 pll. Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1950. Sw. Fr. 8.

The sub-title explains that the author treats the labyrinth or maze as 'Linienreflex einer mythologischen Idee', and he further speaks of mazes (p. 13) as 'Denkmäler uralten religiösen Brauches oder mindestens urtümlicher Kunstübung', a doubtful proposition and one incidentally which has not much to do with mythology in any proper sense. In pursuance of his declared intention to find in what he conceives to be related legends 'die Texte zu den stummen Labyrinth', he collects examples of mazes, maze-like patterns (including Babylonian diagrams of entrails, intended for the use of diviners), and other relevant material from various parts of the world and various ages, and adds several stories as different as the legends of Persephone and the traditions of Oceania. An appendix deals with the not obviously relevant subject of snakes and mice in the cults of Apollo and Asklepios. But when, after assembling this compact array of material, he proceeds to connect mazes with such ideas as death and life (pp. 17-20), caves, birth, the flight of birds, and immortality (pp. 34 ff., 40, 43-5, 46 ff.) it cannot be said that his arguments are convincing or rest on much more than association of ideas, i.e. his own associations, with little to show that they existed for the builders or painters of the mazes.

H. J. R.

**Teinturerie et tannage dans l'antiquité.** By G.-A. FABER. Les Cahiers Ciba, No. 18. Pp. 617-656. Basle, 1948.

The notice of this excellent study in a learned journal may require some justification. Subsidised, I presume, by an industrial undertaking it addresses itself to an audience to whom one does not introduce *le grand poète latin Virgile* without adding that he was *auteur de l'Énéide et des Géorgiques* (ouvrage traitant de la vie rurale). But the work is written by a scholar; it gives a careful and illuminating account of the ancient industrial processes with which it is concerned, which if not documented is yet supported by a good bibliography; and in between the advertisements of the products of the firm appear some forty illustrations, a lavish allowance indicative of the resources that lie behind this enterprise. Of these illustrations some, like the head of Socrates (which gets in because his accuser Anytos was a tanner), will not particularly interest the scholar. Others, like the three beautiful reproductions of plant drawings from the *Codex Aniciae Iulianae* of Dioscorides or the relief of a fuller at work from the Museum of Sens, add sensibly to the value of a study capable of giving accurate information on its important subject in an agreeable way.

B. FARRINGTON.

**The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks.** New Revised edition. By G. M. A. RICHTER. Pp. xxxvi + 337, with 2 maps and 775 figures. New Haven: Yale University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1950. £4 17s. 6d.

It is a pleasure to welcome a new edition of Miss Richter's *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*. The new edition is of the same format as the second, with alterations where they could be fitted into the old pagination. Miss Richter has indeed done better than this, and has rewritten and expanded the sections on the archaic and Hellenistic periods; the Hellenistic sculptors in particular are treated more fully in both text and illustrations. About forty-five of the illustrations are new; these include works found since 1930, and some new photographs of older works; and the plates are in general better reproduced in the new edition.

The most valuable part of the new edition is likely to be the chronological table, which has been completely worked over and brought up to date. With the additions and revision, this book keeps its place as the best general introduction and the soundest guide to Greek sculpture.

T. J. DUNBAIN.

**Antike Architektur.** By C. WEICKERT. Pp. 77; 38 text figs. + map. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1949.

The title of this book may mislead, for it is No. 2 in a series of eighteen guides to works of art in Berlin collections, published under the general editorship of Gerda Bruns. The more complete exhibits are all Roman or Hellenistic, and the book moves backwards from these to the classical and archaic. Starting with the famous Gate of the Miletus Agora of the second century A.D., Weickert passes, often touching on some smaller Roman works, to the Hellenistic Propylon of the Sanctuary of Athena at Pergamum. Earlier works discussed there often include excellent fragments, from both the later and earlier Didymaion, and good pieces from the temple of Athena at Priene and from classical and archaic buildings of Olympia, the Miletus district, and Samos. Models of both Miletus and Priene are illustrated and described, and the book ends with a useful explanatory table of technical terms and with a sketch map. Weickert is a master of his subject, and all students can profit by reading his comments with attention.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

**Views of Attica and its Surroundings.** By R. WARNER. Pp. 174, with 24 plates. London: John Lehmann, 1950. 15s.

There is some exaggeration and dogmatism in the introductory chapter of Mr. Warner's book which at once warms the heart and arouse our sympathy; for they are on the right side: Greece is the country to visit and to live in. Mr. Warner was in Athens for two years as Director of the British Institute; he tells us something about the Institute, something of Greek painters and poets ('A visit to Salamis' is a visit to Sikelianos), the *taverna*, and much about the country and its monuments: the last within a restricted and on the whole conventional range—Daphni, Delphi, Mycenae, Epidaurus, and so forth; but his aim has been to convey to us 'a feeling which, though it is directed to scenes, to landscape, to history and to groups of people, is both violent and tender, full of expectation which is never disappointed, full of reverence, excitement and joy'. 'So, in writing of Greece, I shall attempt the objectivity of



the lover rather than of the scientist, and shall describe isolated scenes and characters rather than try to paint a broad and comprehensive picture of a country and its people. Ignorance and love dictate the method, but it is a method that need not necessarily be valueless, unless one's ignorance is total or one's love misdirected.

He has not, I think, always succeeded in his aim (but who could?), he misses much in modern Athens, and he has not much that is new to say, or to photograph, of the Acropolis

or Epidauros. He is at his best, in fact, when off the beaten track in the lively country of central and northern Attica, Pentelicus and near Rhamnus and Kalamos; which makes one wish he had let his pen go further afield (for he knows much more of Greece than he writes about). Yet it is wrong to expect a man to do what he has not set out to do; Attica is the land which he has taken to his heart, and deserves the prize for beauty. Other lovers indeed will be jealous.

A. W. GOMME.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

The following books have also been received. The inclusion of a book in this list does not preclude its subsequent review.

S. and A. ABDUL-HAK, *Catalogue illustré du département des antiquités greco-romaines au Musée de Damas*, I. Damascus: Direction générale des antiquités de Syrie, 1951. Pp. 180, 60 pl., 1 plan. Price not stated.

Père F.-M. ABEL, *Les livres des Maccabées*. Paris: J. Gabalda, 1949. Pp. xiv + 491. Price not stated.

S. ACCAME, *Demostene e l'insegnamento di Platone*. Milan: Carlo Marzorati, 1947. Pp. 217. Price not stated.

Alcman, *The Partheneion*, ed. D. L. Page. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951. Pp. xi + 179. 21s.

F. ALTHEIM, *Weltgeschichte Asiens im griechischen Zeitalter*, II. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1948. Pp. 262, 32 pl. DM 20.

Antioch-on-the-Orontes, IV, part 1, *Ceramics and Islamic Coins*, ed. F. O. Waagé. Princeton University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1948. Pp. 124, 18 pl. and 101 text figs. £5 10s.

Apolodorus, *Biblioteca*. Trans S. I. de Mundo. Buenos Aires: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1950. Pp. 196. Price not stated.

Aristotle, *Categoriae et liber de interpretatione* (Script. Class. Bibl. Oxon.) ed. L. Minio-Paluello. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949. Pp. xxiii + 96. 7s. 6d.

Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*. A Commentary by the late H. H. Joachim, edited by D. A. Rees. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951. Pp. vi + 304. 25s.

Aristotle, *Physica*, ed. W. D. Ross (Script. Class. Bibl. Oxon.). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950. Pages not numbered. 10s.

Aristotle, *Prior and Posterior Analytics*. A revised text with introduction and commentary by W. D. Ross. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949. Pp. x + 690. 42s.

Aristoxenos. Ed. F. Wehrli (*Die Schule des Aristoteles, Texte und Kommentar*, Heft II). Basel: Benno Schwabe, 1945. Pp. 88. Price not stated.

A. H. ARMSTRONG, *The Architecture of the Intelligible Universe in the Philosophy of Plotinus*. Cambridge University Press, 1940. Pp. xii + 126. 7s. 6d.

R. AUBRETON, *Démétrius Triclinius et les recensions médiévales de Sophocle*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1949. Pp. 289. Price not stated.

H. C. BALDREY, *The Classics in the Modern World* (Inaugural lecture delivered before the University of Cape Town). London: Oxford University Press, 1949. Pp. 24. 2s. 6d.

R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Storicità dell' arte classica*, 2 vols. Florence, Electa Editrice, 1950. Pp. xxxii + 321, 137 pl. Price not stated.

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT: *A Guide to the Archaeological Collections in the University Museum*. By Dorothy Mackay. Beirut, 1951. Pp. 105, pl. 16. P.L. 250.

H. I. BELL, *Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest: A Study in the Diffusion and Decay of Hellenism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948. Pp. vii + 168. 10s.

H. I. BELL and C. H. ROBERTS, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of Wilfred Merton, F.S.A.* Volume I. London: Emery Walker, 1948. Pp. xiv + 182, 50 pl., £12 12s.

E. L. BENNETT, *The Pylos Tablets. A Preliminary Transcription*. With a foreword by C. W. Blegen. Princeton University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1951. Pp. xii + 117. 12s. 6d.

C. BLÜMEL, *Hermes eines Praxiteles*. Baden-Baden: Woldemar Klein Verlag, 1948. Pp. 73. Price not stated.

C. BONNER, *Studies in Magical Amulets, Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan

Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1950. Pp. xxiv + 334, 25 pl. £5.

S. G. F. BRANDON, *Time and Mankind. An Historical and Philosophical Study of Mankind's Attitude to the Phenomena of Change*. London: Hutchinson, 1951. Pp. xiv + 228. 18s.

H. BUCHTAL, *The Western Aspects of Gandhara Sculpture* (British Academy Annual Lecture on Aspects of Art, 1945). London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1946. Pp. 28, 12 pl. 9s. 6d.

E. BUSCHOR, *Maussollos und Alexander*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1950. Pp. 56, 65 pl. Price not stated.

G. CAPUTO, *Lo scultore del grande bassorilievo con la danza delle menadi in Tolemaide di Cirenaica*. Rome: L'Erma, 1948. Pp. 33, 16 pl. Price not stated.

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P. CLOCHÉ, *La démocratie athénienne*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1951. Pp. 432. 900 fr.

P. COLLART and P. COUPEL, *L'autel monumental de Baalbek*. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1951. Pp. vi + 153, 96 pl. 4500 fr.

Corinth. *American School Excavations*. Vol. I, part iii. *Monuments in the Lower Agora and North of the Archaic Temple*, by R. L. Scranton. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1951. Pp. xv + 200, 76 pl. and 15 folding plates. \$10.

Corinth. *American School Excavations*. Vol. XIV. *The Asklepion and Lerna*, by C. Roebuck. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1951. Pp. x + 183, 69 pl. and 5 plans. \$10.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Deutschland, fasc. 7. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum (Band I), by G. Hafner. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1951. Pp. 54, 42 pl. DM 36.

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E. C. C. CORTI, *The Destruction and Resurrection of Pompeii and Herculaneum*. London: Kegan Paul, 1951. Pp. x + 220, 38 pl. 25s.

F. CUMONT, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*. Paris: Geuthner, 1942. Pp. iv + 543, 47 pl. 600 fr.

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E. DELEBECQUE, *Le cheval dans l'Iliade, suivi d'un lexique du cheval chez Homère et d'un essai sur le cheval pré-homérique*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1951. Pp. 251. Price not stated.

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F. EICHLER, *Die Reliefs des Heroon von Gölbaschi-Trysa* (Kunstdenkmäler, 8). Vienna: Franz Deuticke, 1950. Pp. 77, 36 pl. £1 2s. 9d.

Euripides, *Bacchae*, ed. E. R. Dodds. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1944. Pp. lv + 231. 8s. 6d.

*The Ion of Euripides*. Translated into English Prose with Introduction and Notes by D. W. Lucas. London: Cohen and West, 1949. Pp. xix + 71. 5s.

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J. V. A. FINE, *Horoi. Studies in Mortgage, Real Security and Land Tenure in Ancient Athens* (*Hesperia*, Supplement IX). American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1951. Pp. ix + 216, 7 pl. \$7.50.

SIR FRANK FLETCHER, *Notes to the Agamemnon of Aeschylus*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1949. Pp. 79. 4s. 6d.

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H. GOLDMAN, *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus. Volume I, The Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, text and plates. Princeton University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1950. Pp. vi + 420, 276 pl. and 9 plans. £11 15s.

O. J. GOMBOSI, *Tonarten und Stimmungen der antiken Musik*. Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard, 1939 (reprinted 1950). Pp. xiii + 148. Dan. Kr. 25.

P. GRIMAL, *Dictionnaire de la mythologie grecque et romaine*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1951. Pp. xxi + 576. Fr. 2400.

M. HAMMOND, *City-State and World-State in Greek and Roman Political Theory until Augustus*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1951. Pp. 217. 25s.

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G. F. HILL, *Sources for Greek History Between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars*. A new edition by R. Meiggs and A. Andrews. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951. Pp. xx + 426. 30s.

F. JACOBY, *Atthis: The Local Chronicles of Ancient Athens*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949. Pp. vi + 431. 35s.

F. JACOBY, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Vol. III, *Geschichte von Staedten und Voelkern* (Horographie und Ethnographie). B. Autoren ueber einzelne Staedte (Laender). Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1950. Pp. vii + 779. Price not stated.

K. JAZDZEWSKI, *Atlas to the Prehistory of the Slavs*, text and maps (*Acta Praehistorica Universitatis Lodzensis*, 1). University of Lodz, 1948. Pp. 144, 20 maps. Price not stated. (In English.)

P. JOUGUET, J. VANDIER, G. CONTENAU, É. DHORME, A. AYMARD, F. CHAPOUTHIER, *Les premières civilisations* (Peuples et civilisations, I). New edition. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1950. Pp. xi + 765, 4 maps. Fr. 1200.

H. KAHLER, *Das griechischen Metopenbild*. Munich: F. Bruckman. Pp. 112, 95 pl. DM 19.50.

Katsaitis, ΙΩΓΕΝΕΙΑ-ΘΥΕΤΗΣ, ΚΛΑΘΝΟΞ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΥ. *Oeuvres inédites. Édition critique avec introduction, notes et glossaire*, de E. Kriaras. Athens: Institut français d'Athènes, 1950. Pp. xlii + 382, 8 pl. Price not stated.

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B. KLEINER, *Die Begegnungen Michelangelos mit der Antike*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1950. Pp. 63, 24 pl. DM 6.

E. J. KNUDTZON, *Die Wiederbelebung der internationalen Papyrologie* (Deutsche Akademie Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Vorträge und Schriften, 39). Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1950. Pp. 19. DM 1.50.

W. KRAIKER, *Aigina. Die Vasen des 10. bis 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1951. Pp. 94, 47 pl. DM 56.

W. KRAIKER, *Das Kentaurenbild des Zeuxis* (106 Winkelmannsprogramm). Berlin: de Gruyter, 1950. Pp. 29. DM 9.

W. KRANZ, *Empedokles. Antike Gestalt und romantische Neuschöpfung*. Zürich: Artemis Verlag, 1949. Pp. 393, 5 pl. Sw. fr. 13.80.

T. KRAUS, *Megarische Becher im römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseum zu Mainz* (Römisch-germanisches Zentralmuseum zu Mainz, Katalog 14). Mainz: Römisch-germanisches Zentralmuseums, 1951. Pp. 20, 5 pl. Price not stated.

L. LACROIX, *Les reproductions de statues sur les monnaies grecques. La statuaire archaïque et classique* (Bibl. de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, CXIV). Liège: Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 1949. Pp. xxii + 372, 28 pl. 200 fr.

E. LANGLOTZ, *Phidiasprobleme*. Frankfurt: V. Klostermann, 1947. Pp. 119, 32 pl. DM 9.50.

E. LANGLOTZ, *Das ludovisische Relief*. Mainz: Florian Kupferberg, 1951. Pp. 27, 8 pl. Price not stated.

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*Lettres d'Humanité, I-III*. Paris: L'Association Guillaume Budé, 1942-3. Pp. 220, 213, 169. Price not stated.

E. LESKY, *Die Zeugungs- und Vererbungslehren der Antike und ihr Nachwirken*. Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1951. Pp. 201. Price not stated.

*Commentationes Iudaico-Hellenisticas in Memoriam Iohannis Lewy*, ed. M. Schwabe and I. Gutman. Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1949. Pp. 278, 5 pl. Price not stated. (In Hebrew.)

S. LIEBERMANN, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine. Studies in the Literary Transmission, Beliefs and Manners of Palestine in the I Century B.C.E.-IV Century C.E.* (Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, XVIII). New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1950. Pp. xiv + 231. Price not stated.

E. LOBEL, *A Greek Historical Drama* (*Proc. Brit. Acad.* XXV). London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1950. Pp. 12, 1 pl. 3s. 6d.

D. W. LUCAS, *The Greek Tragic Poets*. London: Cohen and West, 1950. Pp. xii + 253. 15s.

J. LUKASIEWICZ, *Aristotle's Syllogistic from the Standpoint of Modern Formal Logic*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951. Pp. xi + 141. 15s.



- P. MAAS, *Textkritik*, 2nd ed., revised and enlarged. Leipzig: Teubner, 1950. Pp. 31. 55 cents.
- A Select List of the Writings of Paul Maas, 1901-50. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951. Pp. 28, 1 pl. 6s.
- T. W. MANSON and G. ZUNTZ (edd.), *Loose-leaf Texts. Series A: Hellenistica*, nos. 1-13. Manchester University Press, 1949. Pp. 30. 5s.
- A. P. MANTZOURANIS, *Tò êtêro yewarîkò êsôdêma tês Lêsoy stên êrçakôtêta*. Mytilene: Typographeia 'Taçôdromos', 1950. Pp. 15. Price not stated.
- F. MARTINAZZOLI, *La 'Successio' di Marco Aurelio. Struttura e spirito del primo libro dei 'Pensieri'*. Bari: Adriatica Editrice, 1951. Pp. 212. Price not stated.
- H.-I. MARROU, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique*. 'Retractatio'. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1949. Pp. 91. Fr. 300.
- G. MATTEUCIO, *Poggio Buco. The Necropolis of Statonia*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951. Pp. xiii + 117, 24 pl. \$4.
- Forschungen auf Kreta, 1942*, ed. F. Matz. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1951. Pp. vii + 166, 122 pl. DM 80.
- Menandro, I contendenti*. Versione e integrazione poetica di E. della Valle. Bari, G. Laterza e Figli, 1949. Pp. 155. L. 750.
- R. MERKELBACH, *Untersuchungen zur Odyssee* (Zetemata. Monographien zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, 2). Munich: C. H. Beck, 1951. Pp. viii + 241. DM 18.50.
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- Phyllobolia für Peter von der Mühl zum 60 Geburtstag*. Basel: Benno Schwabe, 1946. Pp. 288. Sw. fr. 20.
- G. MULLER, *Studien zu den platonischen Nomoi* (Zetemata, 3). Munich: C. H. Beck, 1951. Pp. 194. DM 15.
- N. R. MURPHY, *The Interpretation of Plato's Republic*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951. Pp. vi + 247. 18s.
- J. L. MYRES, *The Structure of Stichomythia in Attic Tragedy* (Proc. Brit. Acad. XXXV). London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1950. Pp. 35. 6s.
- L. NELSON, *Socratic Method and Critical Philosophy*. Selected Essays. Translated by T. K. Brown III. New Haven: Yale University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1949. Pp. xxii + 211. 30s.
- K. A. NEUGEBAUER, *Die griechischen Bronzen der klassischen Zeit und des Hellenismus* (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Katalog der statuarischen Bronzen im Antiquarium, Band II). Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1951. Pp. 110, 40 pl. DM 32.50.
- M. P. NILSSON, *Opuscula Selecta*, Vol. I (Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, II, i). Lund: G. W. Gleerup, 1951. Pp. 456. Sw. Kr. 45.
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- A. T. OLMSTEAD, *History of the Persian Empire of the Achaemenid Period*. Chicago University Press (London: Cambridge University Press), 1948. Pp. xviii + 576, 70 pl. 55s.
- R. B. ONIANS, *The Origins of European Thought about the Body, the Mind, the Soul, the World, Time and Fate*. New Interpretations of Greek, Roman and Kindred Evidence, also of some Basic Jewish and Christian Beliefs. Cambridge University Press, 1951. Pp. xvii + 547. 45s.
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- Handbuch der Archäologie*, ed. W. Otto and R. Herbig. Vol. IV, *Die Denkmäler Jüngerer Steinzeit und Bronzezeit in Europa und einigen angrenzenden Gebieten bis um 1000 v. Chr.*, by O. Menghin, F. Matz, G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1950. Pp. xxiii + 402, 56 pl. DM 45.
- do. Vol. V, *Die griechische Plastik*, by G. Lippold. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1950. Pp. xxviii + 441, 136 pl. DM 62.
- J. OWENS, *The Doctrine of Being in the Aristotelian Metaphysics. A Study in the Greek Background of Medieval Thought*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1951. Pp. xi + 461. 5s.
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*a*



*b*



*c*



*d*



*e*



*f*

BRONZE PLOUGHING TEAMS FROM EAST GREECE.

*a.* British Museum 52.9-1.13.

*b.* British Museum 75.3-13.11.

*c.* Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 32.4.

*d.* Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 32.5.

*e.* Copenhagen, National Museum ABa 708.

*f.* Athens, British School.





*a*



*b*



*c*



*d*



*e*

BRONZE STATUETTES FROM EAST GREECE.

*a.* British Museum 75.3-13.10.

*b.* British Museum 52.9-1.10.

*c.* British Museum 1951.3-29.1.

*d.* British Museum 75.3-13.12.

*e.* British Museum 52.9-1.11.





*a*



*b*



*c*



*d*



*e*



*f*

BRONZE STATUETTES FROM EAST GREECE.

- a.* Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 04.15.  
*b.* British Museum 75.3-13.13.  
*c.* British Museum 75.3-13.14.

- d.* Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 04.11.  
*e.* Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 04.9.  
*f.* Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 04.10.





*a*



*b*



*c*



*d*



*e*



*f*

BRONZE STATUETTES FROM EAST GREECE.

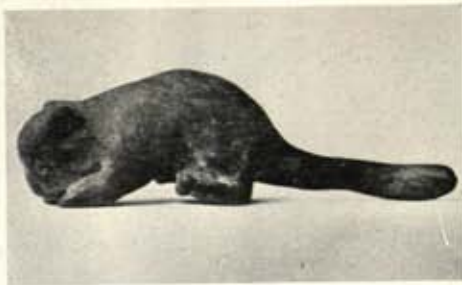
- a.* British Museum 1951.3-29.2.  
*b.* Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 32.6.  
*c.* Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 04.13.

- d.* Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 04.12.  
*e.* Athens, British School.  
*f.* Athens, British School.





*a*



*b*



*c*



*d*



*e*



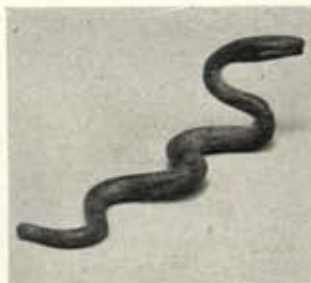
*f*



*g*



*h*



*i*

BRONZE STATUETTES FROM EAST GREECE.

- a.* British Museum 1951.3-29.3.  
*b.* British Museum 1951.3-29.4.  
*c.* British Museum 1951.3-29.5.  
*d.* British Museum 1951.3-29.8.  
*e.* Athens, British School.

- f.* British Museum 1951.3-29.6.  
*g.* Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 04.14.  
*h.* British Museum W. 148.  
*i.* British Museum 1951.3-29.7.





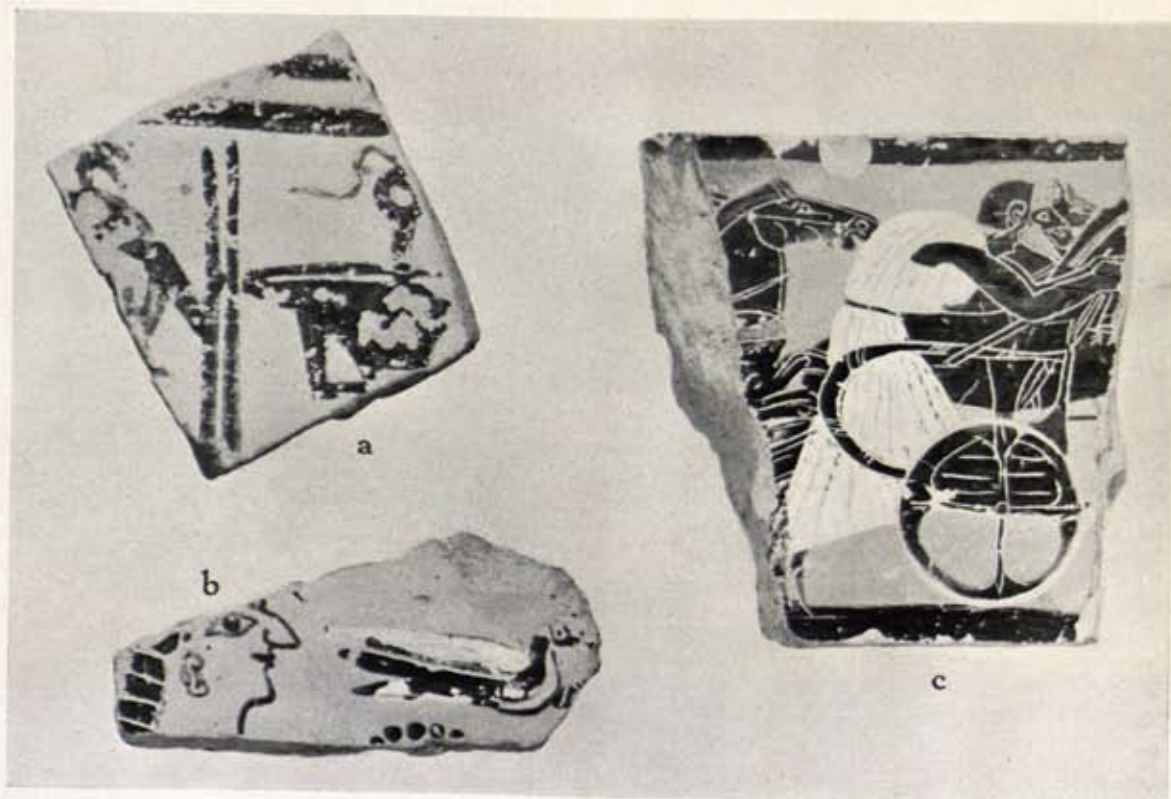
1. MYLOPOTAMOS. MINOAN STATUETTE.



2. AEGINA. TEMPLE.



3. SMYRNA. ARCHAIC CAPITAL.



4. ATHENS. ACROPOLIS SHERDS.





1-2. ATHENS. SHERDS FROM AGORA.



3. KNOSSOS. ROMAN MOSAIC.





Inv. No. 2478

Lekythoi



Inv. No. 2756

THREE VASES FROM THE DUTUIT COLLECTION (see p. 119).



Inv. No. 2772

Oinochoe



THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION  
OF  
HELLENIC STUDIES

50 BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1.

REPORT FOR THE SESSION 1951-52.

THE Council beg leave to submit their report for the session now concluded:—

Finance.

The 1951 account closed with a surplus of £598. This was due partly to the effect of the higher subscription rate, partly to exceptionally heavy sales of the *Journal*, including back numbers, which accounted for £616.

The cost of Volume 71 (the Beazley number) was £2,025, to which subscribers contributed £743, leaving a net charge on the Society of £1,282. We aim to hold the cost of Volume 72 to £1,225. It must be smaller than Volume 71, but will be larger than the other volumes issued in the last five years. It now appears that, in view of rising costs of printing and paper, the normal expenditure on the *Journal* in future will be at least £1,500.

In 1952 the rent of our premises is to be raised, as from July 1st, by £500 a year, of which one-half falls on the Hellenic Society; we must face unavoidable increases in salaries and in such miscellaneous expenses as lighting, heating and caretaker's charges. The University of London has, however, guaranteed the two Societies against loss incurred by our having continued our lease for the extra year in 50 Bedford Square. Before our extended lease expires in June 1953 we have to meet heavy expenditure on dilapidations. For this serious item the Joint Special Appeal for £3,000 brought in up to date £1,835. The discovery of dry rot in the Library this year has involved an unexpected expenditure of £800, which has been met out of this Fund.

Accordingly, notwithstanding every economy consistent with the purposes of the Society, the financial position has become increasingly

difficult. In particular, those members who have not yet volunteered the new membership rate of £2 a year are earnestly urged to reconsider the possibility of helping the Society to that extent. It is discouraging to note that out of the 900 members enjoying the option, those who have as yet volunteered the higher rate number only 179. Members are also once more reminded that without cost to themselves they can help the Society appreciably by undertaking a Covenant on its behalf, the Covenant giving the Society, on a £2 subscription, an actual income of £3 2s. 9d.

Membership figures as at December 31st, 1951, are shown below, along with comparable figures:—

	Members.	Life Members.	Student Associates.	Libraries.	Total.
1939	1,003	141	222	325	1,691
1949	975	133	188	384	1,680
1950	987	137	183	377	1,684
1951	991	123	174	376	1,664
Journal exchanges 80					

Obituary.

The Council record with great regret the death during the session of Sir Arthur Pickard-Cambridge a past President of the Society, and also the deaths of Professors E. H. Alton, J. G. C. Anderson, G. H. Chase, A. B. Cook, H. K. Cornig and Dr. W. H. Buckler, Brig.-Gen. Bushe, F. Lewisohn, G. Scott, G. H. Stevenson and Rev. E. Stogdon.

The Joint Standing Committee of the Hellenic and Roman Societies.

In view of the greatly increased rental of 50 Bedford Square and rising cost of publication, the Councils of the Hellenic and Roman



Societies have had during the past two years to seek some kind of outside aid. Negotiations have been carried on with London University with the following results.

The Councils of the two Societies have agreed to a proposal which it is believed the University will carry out if financial provision is possible. By this agreement the Societies hand over to the University as essential equipment for a Classical Institute a collection of books of reference, viz.: (a) bibliographies, dictionaries, indexes, encyclopaedias, plain texts and corpora of epigraphical and archaeological material; (b) selected collections of pamphlets and offprints; (c) selected periodicals. These books will be confined to the Library.

In return the Societies will receive: (1) free quarters for the rest of the Library which will be available to borrowers (*i.e.* members of the Societies) as hitherto; (2) free quarters for the offices of the Societies; (3) a grant in aid towards the publication of their *Journals*.

The libraries will be housed in the same building and managed in close relationship. The Institute will be governed by a Committee of Management on which the Societies will each have two representatives. Members of the Societies will be granted access to the Institute Library by permission of the Director or Librarian. The University Library photostat and microfilm service will be available by arrangement to all members of the Societies at a low cost.

This proposal would, in the opinion of the Council, assure the maintenance of the essential services of the Societies and the retention of ownership of a large part of the Library.

#### Journal of Hellenic Studies.

Volume 72 has fewer reviews than we should like; it has been planned to increase review space in Volume 73.

#### Joint Committee of Greek and Roman Societies.

In order not to clash with the Copenhagen meeting, which is arranged for 1954, the Committee will hold the next conference in 1955 at Oxford.

#### International Federation of Societies for Classical Studies.

At the Meeting held in Cambridge in August 1951 the Society's delegate was Professor A. W. Gomme.

#### Meetings.

The following communications have been made at Meetings of the Society during the Session:—

October 12th, 1951. Professor A. D. Trendall on 'Some Mid-fourth Century South Italian Vase Painters'.

February 29th, 1952. Mr. E. S. G. Robinson on 'History of fifth century Magna Graecia in the light of the Coins'.

May 2nd, 1952. Professor D. L. Page on 'Some Homeric Epithets'.

June 20th, 1952. Professor T. B. L. Webster, Presidential Address 'Art and Literature in Aristotle's Athens'.

#### Provincial Meetings.

Meetings were arranged in collaboration with the Classical Association and with the Classical Association of Scotland at the following centres: Birmingham, Bristol, Cardiff, Durham, Edinburgh, Exeter, Leeds, Nottingham, Reading, Sheffield, Southampton, the University College of N. Staffs, and papers were read by Professors Adcock, E. R. Dodds, H. D. F. Kitto, A. Momigliano, C. M. Robertson, E. G. Turner, T. B. L. Webster, and W. K. C. Guthrie.

#### Administration.

Ten members of the Council who retire in rotation under rule 19 are: J. M. R. Cormack, T. J. Dunbabin, A. W. Gomme, R. J. Hopper, E. A. Lane, C. T. Seltman, Mrs. A. M. Webster, H. D. Westlake, A. G. Woodhead, R. E. Wycherley.

The Council have nominated as Members of their body for the next three years: A. Andrewes, P. E. Corbett, R. L. James, Prof. M. E. L. Mallowan, P. G. Mason, J. S. Morrison, E. V. C. Plumptre, Prof. P. T. Stevens, A. M. Woodward, Prof. R. P. Winnington-Ingram.

Miss D. H. F. Gray has been elected a member of the Standing Committee for the next three years.

The Council thank C. T. Edge, F.C.A., for acting as honorary auditor, and have pleasure in nominating him for re-election.

#### The Joint Library.

The repairs to the Library, which inevitably caused some interference with the normal working of the Library during the winter months, have been completed, and all books are now available.



The following figures show the work done during the last three sessions:—

	1949-50.	1950-51.	1951-52.
Books added .....	271	343	470
Books borrowed .....	4,005	4,559	3,757
Borrowers .....	610	664	632
Slides borrowed .....	5,503	5,035	3,662
Slides sold .....	245	517	907
Film strips borrowed	32	21	24

Professor A. D. Momigliano has been elected a member of the Library Committee in place of Professor A. H. M. Jones, who resigned.

A list of war-time numbers of foreign periodicals which the Joint Library has not so far succeeded in obtaining, showing other Libraries which have copies, was circulated with the 1951 volumes of the *Journals*. As a result, Dr. E. W. Brooks very kindly presented a copy of *Byzantion*, Volume 15.

A list of the most important books added to the Library will in future be circulated with the *Journals*. This will take the place of the complete lists of accessions formerly published.

The Councils of the Hellenic and Roman

Societies wish to express their thanks for gifts of books from the following: The late Miss M. Alford, Mr. J. M. Bairrão Oleiro, Miss M. Benecke, Prof. H. Bloesch, Dr. E. W. Brooks, Mr. C. Clairmont, Mr. D. T.-D. Clarke, Prof. Ch. Dugas, Mr. R. A. H. Farrar, Dr. D. B. Harden, Mr. R. W. Hutchinson, Mr. J. F. Jones, Prof. C. Kyriakidis, Mr. W. Lameere, Mrs. D. Mackay, Prof. W. S. Maguinness, Lt.-Col. G. W. Meates, Dr. G. Murray, Mr. F. F. Musgrave, Sir John Myres, Prof. A. D. Nock, Mr. E. D. Phillips, Prof. L. J. D. Richardson, Prof. I. A. Richmond, Prof. L. Robert, Prof. C. M. Robertson, Mr. E. D. Tappe, Miss M. V. Taylor, Mr. O. Veh, Mr. M. Ventris, Mrs. H. Walton, Prof. T. B. L. Webster, Mr. G. P. Zafiropoulo, Prof. U. Zanotti-Bianco, the Byzantine Institute of America.

The two Councils wish to thank Mr. C. E. Ansell Clayton and Miss S. Benton for gifts to the photographic collection, and Prof. J. A. Davison, Prof. A. W. Gomme, Mr. D. J. Furley, Mr. E. W. Handley, and Prof. W. S. Maguinness for help in examining the classical texts in the Library Catalogue.



# THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31, 1951.

<i>Liabilities.</i>		<i>Assets.</i>	
1950.	£ s. d.	1950.	£ s. d.
Debits Payable .....	£ 1,489 3 1	Cash in Hand—	
Subscriptions received in advance .....	145 15 4	Bank .....	734 15 6
Endowment Fund .....	2,779 12 0	Petty Cash .....	41 18 6
Life Compositions—			
Total at January 1, 1951 .....	2,223 19 0	Debits Receivable .....	776 14 0
Received during the year .....	126 0 0	Investments at cost (Market Value at December 31, 1951, £3,442 13s.) .....	662 15 2
Less carried to Income and Expenditure Account—Decreased Members .....	2,349 19 0	Sundry Payments in Advance .....	3,525 0 0
	78 15 0	Stock of Journals and Paper .....	366 10 11
		Deficiency Account—	700 0 0
Sundry Credit Balances—		At December 30, 1950 .....	1,513 2 10
Balance Account (C) .....	2 2 4	Less Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year ended December 31, 1951 .....	598 4 0
" (D) .....	198 2 2		
			914 18 10
			<u>£6,885 18 11</u>

The Society's share of the capital value of the Library and Photographic Department is not included as an Asset in the above Balance Sheet.

I have audited the above Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account, and in my opinion the same exhibit a true and correct view of the Society's financial position according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me and as shown by the books of the Society.

LONDON, March 26, 1952.

## INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1951.

<i>Expenditure.</i>		<i>Income.</i>	
1950.	£ s. d.	1950.	£ s. d.
To Salaries, State Insurance and Travelling Expenses .....	£ 309 18 11	By Subscriptions received .....	2,386 7 3
Pensions Insurance .....	10 0 0	" Income Tax recovered .....	257 16 8
" Printing and Stationery .....	100 4 9		
" Postage .....	87 4 6	Life Compositions (Deceased Members) brought into Revenue .....	2,644 3 11
" Sundry Expenses .....	56 4 9	Dividends on Investments .....	78 15 0
Balance from 'Journal of Hellenic Studies' Account .....	665 11 1	" Miscellaneous Receipts .....	113 1 0
Share of Premises Account (A) .....	138 10 1		80 4 2
Share of Library Maintenance Account (B) .....	650 6 10		
" Grants for Books (C) .....	100 0 0		
" Balance being Excess of Income over Expenditure .....	598 4 0		
	<u>£2,916 4 11</u>		<u>£2,916 4 11</u>

## 'JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES' ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1951.

<i>To Cost of Vol. LXXI—</i>		<i>By Sales, including back Volumes .....</i>	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Printing and Paper .....	1,376 10 10	" Net Proceeds of Special Subscriptions to Vol. LXXI and Bibliography .....	616 3 5
Drawings and Engravings .....	386 13 4	Less Cost of Bibliography .....	828 14 7
Editing .....	90 0 0		85 2 9
Postage and Packing, etc. ....	178 2 2		
		" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account .....	743 11 10
			665 11 1
	2,025 6 4		<u>£2,025 6 4</u>
	<u>£2,025 6 4</u>		



# THE JOINT LIBRARY OF THE HELLENIC AND ROMAN SOCIETIES

## (A) PREMISES ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1951.

1950.	£	s.	d.	1950.	By	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
700	To Rent	1,000	0	0	Rent from sub-tenants	800			950	0	0
227	" Rates	226	3	8	" Rent from the British School at Athens	80			75	0	0
15	" Repairs	40	8	10	" Hire of Council Chamber	8			8	18	6
28	" Insurance	29	6	2	" Balance—						
15	" Gas	15	0	0	Hellenic Society (50%)	78			138	10	1
58	" Legal Charges.				Roman Society (50%)	77			138	10	1
									277	0	2
									<u>£1,310</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>8</u>
									<u>£1,043</u>		

## (B) LIBRARY MAINTENANCE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1951.

1950.	£	s.	d.	1950.	By	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
619	To Salaries and State Insurance	701	15	11	Receipts from Sales of Catalogues, Duplicate Books, etc.	52			83	16	0
180	" Lighting and Heating	165	11	1	" Balance—						
142	" Cleaning and Caretakers Wages	145	5	4	Hellenic Society (57%)	678			650	6	10
120	" Printing and Stationery	84	12	10	Roman Society (43%)	452			490	12	2
	" Fire Insurance of Library	15	10	3					1,140	19	0
61	" Postage and Telephone	51	15	11							
	" Catalogue Entries	29	5	0							
60	" Sundry Expenses	30	18	8							
									<u>£1,224</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>0</u>
									<u>£1,182</u>		

## (C) JOINT LIBRARY BOOKS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1951.

1950.	£	s.	d.	1950.	By	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
177	To Purchases and Binding	220	9	8	Balance at December 30, 1950, brought forward				22	12	0
23	" Balance carried forward	2	2	4	Grants—Hellenic Society	100			100	0	0
					Roman Society	100			200	0	0
									<u>£222</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>0</u>
									<u>£200</u>		

## (D) LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1951.

1950.	£	s.	d.	1950.	By	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
75	To Purchase	110	16	4	Balance at December 30, 1950, brought forward				140	14	8
141	" Balance carried forward	198	2	2	Grants	50			168	3	10
					Receipts from Sales and Hire	166					
									<u>£308</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>6</u>
									<u>£216</u>		

## THE SPECIAL FUND (JOINT HELLENIC AND ROMAN SOCIETIES) FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1951.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Amount on Deposit Account with The London Trustee Savings Bank	1,835	7	7	By Net Proceeds of Appeal at December 30, 1950	1,506	2	0
				" Subscriptions Received during year	293	1	8
				" Interest on Deposit Account	30	3	11
	<u>£1,835</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>		<u>£1,835</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>



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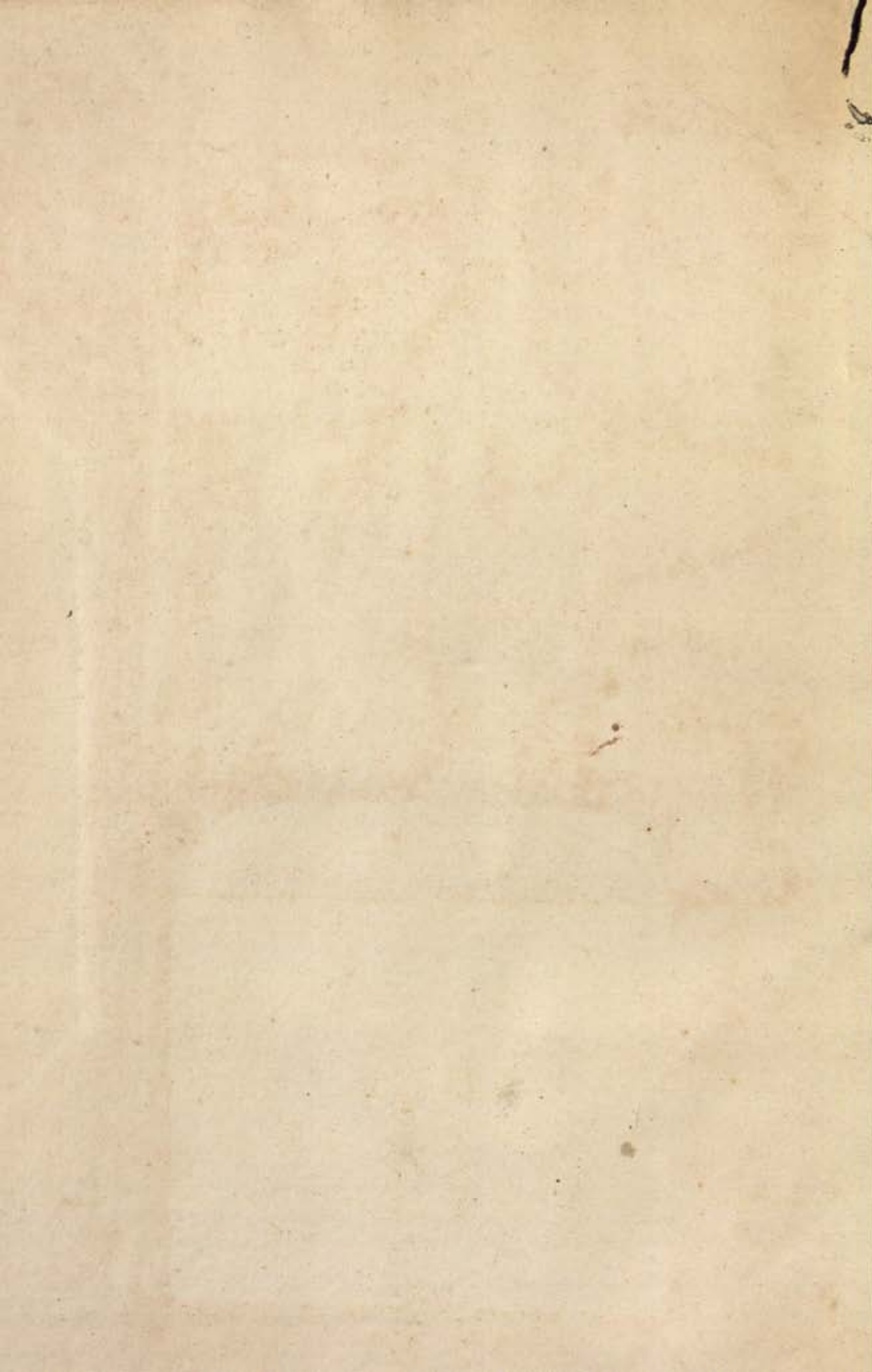














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